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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.,

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

WITH

NOTICES OF HIS DISTINGUISHED CONTEMPORARIES.

Compiled, chiefly from the Atterbury and Stuart Papers,

BY

Robert FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "LIVES OF THE ENGLISH CARDINALS," "THE COURT AND TIMES OF JAMES I.," "THE COURT AND TIMES OF CHARLES I.," ETC., ETC.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

BISHOP ATTERBURY.

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WALPOLE had been terribly afraid that the expatriation of Bishop Atterbury would produce a riot. He had his victim's steps dogged with spies, to report proceedings; but his habitual falsehood betrays itself

in his own account of Atterbury's departure. Writing to Lord Townshend, June 20, 1723, he says :—

> The late Bishop of Rochester went away on Tuesday. The crowd that attended him was not more than was expected ; but great numbers of boats attended him to the water's side. Nothing very extraordinary [happened] but the Duke of Wharton's behaviour, who went on board the vessel with him, and a free conversation between *His Holiness** and Wiliamson, with menaces of a day of vengeance.

There was no such conversation, and no such threat. Walpole had set his hireling pens to work to traduce the prelate he had failed to bribe. In the year 1723 was published "Seasonable Apology for Father Francis, Chaplain to Prince Prettyman, the Catholic, but now lying in durance under the suspicion of secret iniquity, by Mr. Gordon."† The writer asserts that because the Government would not persecute Dissenters Bishop Atterbury had determined to overthrow it. It is an assault upon a man not in a position to defend himself, more than sufficiently malevolent in spirit, but made so to suit the taste of the writer's patron.

Other attacks followed, when the individual assailed was known to be prostrate and incapable of defence, the most virulent by Low Church opponents. .

Shortly after Bishop Atterbury's arrival at Brussels, he was put in communication with James, who

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* Meant to imply an intention of the exile to rise in the Church of Rome—a favourite form of malicious misrepresentation.

† Included in "The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken," 1768, 4 vols. Vol. I., p. 319. The Author was one of Walpole's scribes. He also wrote "The Independent Whig," "Cato's Letters," &c., and was a defender of Dr. Hoadly, in the Bangorian Controversy.

professed to be profoundly concerned at his misfortunes. The Prioress of the English Dominican nuns in the city (Lady Mary Rose Howard), aided by the Papal Internuncio, arranged to carry on a secret correspondence; and the Pretender sent the Hon. John Hay to consult with the exile and endeavour to persuade him to come to Rome. On learning the Bishop's sentence he had written to James Murray, then in Paris:—

> You will easily believe how sensibly I am touched with the fate of the worthy person you mention, and that everything that can depend upon me towards his comfort and satisfaction has not, nor will not be wanting. I own I shall be extremely glad to have him here.*

The same desire and similar feelings were expressed in letters to the Duke of Ormonde and to Lord Lansdowne. To the Bishop he wrote, as soon as he had intelligence of his destination, expressing his satisfaction at knowing that he is in a place of safety and tranquillity, and his concern at learning the deplorable state of his health, as it might retard their being of use to each other.†

By his sentence, the exile had been absolved from allegiance to the reigning family, and could not be expected to put any restraint upon his political inclinations. Some nonsense has been written about his having promised Pope to have nothing to do with "the Pretender:" there is no evidence of anything of the kind. In truth, if ever man received provocation to devote himself to his cause, he was Bishop Atterbury. He was driven into this as a matter rather of

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* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

necessity than of choice. A letter from James was placed in his hands on the 13th of October by the Lady Prioress, and he almost immediately replied.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

Sir,

Having no particular commands from you by your letter of September 25, nor having yet seen the person mentioned in it,* I should not again have made use of this conveyance without business, but I thought it proper to satisfy you of the quick and safe receipt of yours—for it reached me here in eighteen days, Oct. 13—and I believe there is no doubt but that whatever else you please to transmit in the same method will find its way surely to me; for I have great reason to depend on the worthy lady's care and fidelity; though I could wish that I had some other sure ways also of maintaining a correspondence, that I might not be observed to make use of this too often, lest the chief person † through whose hands it goes should be inquisitive; for, though we are unknown to each other, yet he will soon guess whose letters are conveyed under the lady's‡ covers, should they come and go frequently; and I suppose, considering his situation here, it will not be at all proper that he should be let into the secret. I hope the person I am to see may suggest somewhat of this kind to me; nor will I fail endeavouring to find out some other way myself, although, as I said, she who has undertaken this correspondence will, I doubt not, conduct it with all possible secrecy and prudence.

The air of this place, which agrees not with me, has occasioned my recovering very slowly from the illness which seized me at my first coming hither; nor do I apprehend that I shall be perfectly well while I stay here, especially during the winter season. However, the reasons for my staying here at present are so many and strong, that the objection arising from my want of health must give way to them. And could I, sir, lay them before you in all their circumstances, I dare say they will appear to you sufficient to determine me. I despair not of being in some degree useful to your service here; and shall be ready to

---

* The Hon. John Hay. † The Internuncio.

‡ Lady Mary Howard.

change my station upon any great contingency that requires it. And I hope the present counsels and interests of foreign Courts may soon produce such a juncture as may render the activity and effects of your friends reasonable and successful. In the meantime I am humbly of opinion that till something of the kind happens the wisest way is to lie still; and that all new ineffectual alarms will be attended with the worst of consequences, as defeating the very end they are designed to promote. I add no more, but that I am with inviolable, &c.

James has himself endorsed this communication: "Bp. Rochester, received November 10, 1723.*

The readiness with which in England prejudices had been cherished against the Bishop was shown during a conversation in a country inn, that took place a few days after his banishment. Opinions seemed to be divided till the landlady denounced the prelate as having used her cruelly, and therefore must be a very bad man. On her being asked for an explanation, she stated that he, on one of his journeys, had slept at her house, but in the course of the night had got out of her best bed, dressed himself, even to his riding boots, and got in again. Of course the sheets suffered a little; but the occupant of the best bed, in all probability feeling it damp, had thus treated them to prevent his suffering considerably.† He was, however, not without friends in England, whom the cruel severity of his sentence impelled to secret yet active benevolence in his behalf, for a time.

Mr. Hay at last made his appearance at Brussels. To prevent suspicions he had been sent to Paris, ostensibly on urgent private affairs, and then he was to take

* Stuart Papers. † *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1783.

Brussels on his way to Rotterdam. He is the "Mr. Lumsden" mentioned in the next letter.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

December 23.

Sir,

It has pleased God, by pain and sickness, utterly to disable me from writing a line for near ten weeks last past; nor have I yet recovered so much strength in my hand as to be able to write very legibly, I fear, though I was resolved not to defer doing it any longer. *Mr. Lumsden* saw me both going and returning, and I obeyed your commands so far as to discourse him very freely on the subject of your letter, and to let him know my poor thoughts without disguise, of which I doubt not he has made, or will make, a faithful report to you. For myself he was a witness of the miserable condition I was in, and had been in for a long time. I cannot say that I have had any one well day for these six months, *i.e.* ever since I came to this place; so that, unless it pleases God to restore my health to me, it will be impossible for me to undertake anything that requires the labour of the head, or the hand—or, indeed, any regular application. This I look upon as every way a great misfortune, and am more concerned at this incapacity I am under than at everything else that has befallen me.

I have not heard yet a line from England,* nor do I expect to hear till the Parliament has brought the company together, and it appears in what disposition they meet, and what turn affairs are likely to take after a reflection upon past proceedings and some incidents that have lately happened; and till observations of this kind are made, and our friends have recovered heart a little, I do not expect that they should break silence, or be persuaded to listen to any enterprise, whatever they in France may think to the contrary; and whether, therefore, what is designed as to Mr. Hay should fully take place till way can be made for such a step by a correspondence, and persons on the other side apprised, is left to be considered.

That there is a rooted suspicion in England, largely spread, about the management of affairs in France, and the light some-

* Cant names are used frequently in this communication, but the proper meanings are here supplied.

how or other gained from thence, in the most important points, by those who used to pay well for their intelligence, I am very sure;* and that it has created a settled shyness to correspond in many of those concerned. What remedy can be applied to the cure of that evil—which is of the most fatal consequence—is past my skill to say; as also whether the cure proposed may not be as mischievous one way almost as the evil itself is another. I have on these heads freely opened myself to Mr. Hay, and to him I refer myself.

My hope is that all these difficulties may vanish if a new turn of affairs in France makes way for new and favourable measures, of which there seems to be a fair prospect; and on that, sir, I question not but your eyes and thoughts at present are chiefly employed. God seems in a remarkable manner to have interposed on this occasion; and such strokes of Providence seldom fail to be attended with great events, quite opposite to the measures which those who had the chief direction of affairs had before concerted. I trust in God this will prove to be the case, and that when it appears so to be, it will inspire those with new life and union who are at present too much disheartened and divided. I think I see some good effects of that great event in England already, and that it has produced indulgences which six weeks ago were not thought of. A month or six weeks more will probably give a sure insight into these matters. In the meantime I must remain where I am, having no manner of use of one of my limbs; and yet I know that till I remove somewhere else, scarce anybody on the other side will venture to write to me.

I hope to go from hence early in the spring, if my health and strength will suffer me; and will in the meantime and always endeavour to be as serviceable as the sad circumstances I am in will permit. 'Tis with great difficulty I write thus much, and believe, sir, that you will find as great a difficulty in reading it, and therefore shall defer adding to your trouble till a new opportunity has enabled me to write a little more legibly.†

One of the objects of Hay's mission was to consult with the Bishop respecting his taking the post of Lord

* Walpole, it will presently be shown, bribed the poor Jacobites.

† Stuart Papers.

Mar. To this apparently he was reluctant, uncertain as to the concurrence of the Duke of Ormonde; but so strong was Atterbury's conviction of Lord Mar's treachery, in consideration of a large income lately granted by the English Government, that his removal he urged as imperative. To what extent the evil had proceeded its victim determined to discover.

James had been warned of suspicions entertained against Lord Mar by a letter from Lord Falkland,* dated Paris, only a few days before Bishop Atterbury's arrest, to this effect:—

Since I had the honour of writing to your Majesty I have been in England, from whence I am just returned. I had there a long conference with Bishop Atterbury, who is by undeniable circumstances persuaded that your Majesty is betrayed by some person of no small distinction, who is entirely entrapped in as great a degree as any person you have ever confided in; who, like a Sir Richard Willis, discovers everything that tends to your service without permitting his name to be made use of. I must confess, sir, I am entirely of the opinion of that worthy person; and unless we can possibly find out the wretch, it will not only be vain but dangerous to the last degree for your Majesty's friends to act: for till he is discovered he must necessarily be trusted, and then we only prepare wherewith for him to make his court to your Majesty's enemies. Consider, sire, what a dismal prospect this must necessarily give your true friends, who evidently find their endeavours frustrated, their hopes quashed, and obliged, through ignorance, to trust their betrayer.

I pressed the Bishop extremely to give me his opinion whom he most suspected. I named him two persons—Lord Lansdowne and Lord Mar. He said, "God forbid he should name any person without being positive." At my naming the latter he smiled much. When I said I believed him an honest man,

* Lucius Henry, third Viscount. His mother was Rebecca, daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton, of Knebworth, maternal ancestor of Lord Lytton.

[he] urged that *a pension of three thousand pounds well paid was seldom continued without some essential service done for it.** I could get no more out of him, but that he would search to the bottom of this affair, and not quit the secret till he had found it out.

It is certain people on the other side of the water are in general very suspicious of that person, and I believe it will be difficult to calm their minds whilst they believe he is so well with the Court of Britain; but, at the same time, far be it from me to fix on any one. Somebody it must be: the Ministry in England could not be so well informed as they are by any but one who is let into the most secret parts of your Majesty's resolutions. Idle stories formed from public talk—circumstances laid together and an account framed from them—may be given to a Ministry by every impertinent fellow who has a mind to make himself be taken notice of, or to get a sum of money, as Hays, the gamester, has done; but the advices they now receive are true, just, and what has been the result of your most secret councils, and the proposals of your most intimate friends.

The writer added that this was the firm opinion of Atterbury, who desired it might be communicated to his correspondent; and considered that, till the traitor was discovered, it was not advisable to proceed further in forming any designs. Lord Falkland concluded with the assurance that he shared the Bishop's opinion, and requested that his communication might be kept strictly private.†

The whole process of the treachery by which the prelate was sacrificed is detailed in a letter from the Honourable James Murray to "the Pretender." He wrote:—

I suppose you know the sentiments of your friends in England from themselves, because I have reason to believe that they have declared themselves very plainly and universally on

* Confirmation of this will presently be given.

† Stuart Papers.

this subject; and as to the opinion of the French, I cannot conceal from you that the Duc de Bouillon said to me publicly at his own table, in presence of a dozen of people, that you had been ill served and your secrets revealed; but that nobody was surprised at it, since it was known that the person chiefly in your confidence had been *a pensioner of England.*

But to come closer to the point in question. Supposing that Semple's* account of Lord Mar's interviews with Sir Robert Sutton, and correspondence with England by his means, were not to be credited; and that the complaint thrown artfully into the Report of the Secret Committee by the English Ministry—in order to support his credit with you and your friends—were not suspicious to the last degree; and that, by consequence, that there were no positive proof of his having betrayed your secrets, yet *it is plain beyond the possibility of a reply that the Bishop of Rochester was sacrificed by his means*, which was surely striking at the root of your cause. For, the moment the Government of England had seized, copied, and afterwards forwarded the three letters on which the Bishop was since condemned, as they could not then in any way *prove these letters to be writ by the Bishop*, they sent one Colonel Churchill to Paris to contrive, with Lord Mar, a method of doing it; and Lord Mar, after Churchill's arrival, and after having had conferences with him—as appears by the date—wrote by the common post that famous letter to the Bishop, in which he describes him so particularly, from the circumstances of his wife's death, of his gout, and of his being a much better judge of the resignation we owe to God Almighty in cases of affliction than he; that this letter having fixed on the Bishop the intercepted letters, of which it owned the receipt, as coming from him, *he was condemned on that evidence*, and could not have been condemned without it. Nor is there any reason to suppose that this could proceed from anything but a bargain made with Churchill; because the Bishop had not only forbid him positively of a long while to write to him by the post, but had done so particularly in the intercepted letters, in answer to which Lord Mar wrote: and since he was capable of this, can any one doubt of his having betrayed everything you entrusted him with? †

* Probably John, son of Lord Sempill. More of this worthy presently.

† Stuart Papers.

James's want of decision of character made it difficult for him to get rid of a person with whom he had long maintained the most intimate relations; and his reluctance to provoke Mar into making other disclosures prolonged his hesitation. At last, however, he came to the proper resolution; and, being desirous of replacing him by another equally familiar associate, made choice of the Honble. John Hay.

After the latter's return from Brussels, James wrote to the Bishop:—

As to Mr. Hay himself, I am daily more confirmed in my opinion of the necessity of placing him without delay in the proposed manner; and several things which I have seen of late will make me uneasy till the matter be settled, because I apprehend inconveniences from delays; but, however, his reluctancy to it as yet is so great that I would not as yet lay my positive commands upon him, though I hope, in a very short time, the accounts I may receive from you will determine me to do so.*

Before the receipt of this the following communication had been written:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

Sir, December 30, 1728.

I hope you will excuse the disordered letter I wrote the last week, being then indeed not in condition to write, though unwilling to defer it any longer. I thank God I grow better, and shall certainly employ every new degree of health I gain for your service; having nothing else now upon the account of which life itself is valuable to me. I referred myself to Mr. Hay, in my last, for full accounts of all that had been discoursed between us, he promising to write immediately the substance, and to give a more particular detail of what had passed at his return; and to him in those respects I shall refer myself. But something has happened which may be of great consequence in

* Stuart Papers.

relation to your affairs; and though it has been some time a-doing, and I have some reason to apprehend it was, yet was it not till within these two days communicated to me. I question not but you have had accounts of it from France and from Spain. However, I think myself obliged also to say somewhat concerning it.

The fact as represented—and I believe rightly—to me stands thus; that before the death of the Duke of Orleans application was made to him for leave that the Duke of Ormonde should come to France; that he took time to consider of it, and upon a second application granted it in a very handsome and kind manner; and at the same time directed every step that should be taken by the Duke of Ormonde in both places—that where he was and that to which he was to come. One of these directions was to have the consent of the King and Queen of Spain, which he has been waiting for some weeks, they being both at a seat of retirement where nobody sees them; but, as soon as he can see them and have their leave, he will be moving, having been pressed from France not to lose any time; and a message also having been sent him from thence, that upon a new application it was found that everything there, with relation to him, stood as it did; and that there was great reason to believe he would be welcome.

The reflection naturally arising from this transaction is, that the leave thus indulged by the first person must have been with views towards his own interests, and without any regard to yours; and those views might be either the intimidating the Duke of Hanover, and driving him into some measures then upon the anvil, and then after that dismissing again the Duke of Ormonde; or else endeavouring, upon the Duke of Ormonde's arrival, to deal with him and the rest towards making their peace, and rendering them willing to accept terms from England, which I have good reason to believe has been a point for several months thought of; and on both these accounts the Duke of Ormonde's motions, had the Duke of Orleans lived, would probably have been unserviceable and mischievous. But I had no opportunities given me of imparting to him my sense of these things, the whole transaction, till it was over, having been entirely concealed from me.

The case is now quite altered, and he may probably come to

France without being in danger of falling into any of those snares which the Duke of Orleans had certainly laid for him. All I would have wished is that he had deferred his journey for some time, both that I might have been at liberty to have waited on him at his first arrival, and that some inconveniences might have been prevented which may perhaps ensue upon his arrival at this juncture. It will fall in with the opening of Parliament, where the alarm will be taken, and ill uses made of it, towards strengthening themselves at home, or, it may be, endeavouring to weaken the union of your friends abroad. It will put some difficulty on France at a time when they are not, perhaps, thoroughly ripe for it, as having not yet duly digested and ripened their own domestic scheme, nor, consequently, being at liberty to take care of things that do not so nearly concern them. Nor can the Duke of Ormonde's presence there be of great and immediate use, unless something were already concerted in which he was to have his share, which I do not apprehend to be the case.

However, these reflections—and others that might be suggested—come too late, for there he will suddenly be; and if he comes upon the foot I hope he will now come, and be received there and countenanced as he ought to be, I shall easily give up the little objections I have made, and join immediately in drawing all the advantages possible from such a step, by attending him as soon as ever I have so far recovered my limbs as to be able to take a journey, which at present is far from being the case.

May your friends, sir, not entertain some glimpse of hope, that this step may prepare the way for another; and shorten also the distance between yourself and your friends in England? That, indeed, would be a point of consequence, and would tend more towards encouraging and uniting your friends, and towards dividing and disheartening your enemies, than anything else that can happen. I can only wish and pray for such an event. Providence, I hope, is now disposing everything towards it; and when that happens let the alarm be given, and, taken as loudly as it will, it will have nothing frightful in it—nothing that can in any ways balance the advantages with which such a step will plainly be attended. But these are wishes and thoughts in the dark which it becomes me not to indulge; and I beg pardon,

therefore, for dwelling so long upon them. I hope Mr. Hay stays not at Paris, but under the probable prospect of sending you some news of this kind, which will be perfectly welcome to you.

It will probably be two months at least before I can remove from hence, should I go on without any relapse to gain some degree of strength and health every day. At present I have no manner of use of my feet or legs, though, I thank God, I am in great measure recovered that of my hands.

James endorsed this "B. of Rochester," with the date.*

Lord Mar had become acquainted with James's desire that Ormonde and Atterbury should meet in Paris, to take into their hands (out of his) the direction of "the Pretender's" affairs in France, and finessed, with his usual duplicity, to prevent their coming. His first move was to induce the Duke of Bourbon, the successor of the Duke of Orleans, to prohibit the residence in Paris of the Duke of Ormonde. Details of the intrigue are given in the contemporary correspondence. Lord Mar wrote to the King in the following January:—

I am very sorry for the turn the Duke of Ormonde's affair has taken at last. When the Duke of Orleans died all those who were in use here of corresponding with the Duke of Ormonde wrote to him to make all the haste hither he could, and to lose no time, else there might be a stop put to his coming, but if he came soon there would be no difficulty in his being here. I suppose the Duke of Ormonde had substantial reasons for hindering his complying with those advices. I was told last week that he had wrote to a friend here to advertise Atterbury of his being to be here, and that he wished Atterbury might soon leave the place where he is, and come hither to meet him, in case

* Stuart Papers.

of his being stopped in his present quarters upon the Duke of Ormonde's coming, which Atterbury had agreed to, though much contrary to his former resolutions; but last post save one, it seems, brought letters from Ormonde of another kind, as you will see by the enclosed to me.*

The writer describes an application he made to a lady (mother of the Duke), then in communication with the chief Minister of the young King. The Duchess, he asserts, informed him that the latter had said, if Ormonde had arrived in Paris there would have been no difficulty in the way of his stay, but that he (the Duke of Bourbon) could not now permit of his coming. This, he added, would not only stop Ormonde, but Atterbury also, and he expresses an opinion that their coming together would have excited unnecessary alarm.

Mr. Hay's reluctance to accept the proffered dignity is thus expressed in a letter to his brother-in-law, James Murray, dated March 28th:—

I always was of your opinion as to the affair I mentioned to you relating to myself, and told the Bishop, when I saw him and he spoke to me upon the matter, that, besides five hundred reasons I had for not engaging myself in that affair, the fate of others in that situation, who were more able and capable for it than I could pretend to be, was warning enough for me, or any one that knew what it was, not to engage in it: to which the Bishop answered, that it was certain the King could expect nobody from home, and had so few on this side of the water, that there was few to choose upon; that refusing to comply with the King's desire was, in the present case, leaving him alone, which I could not do; and a great deal to this purpose too long to repeat. I told him I could not tell how agreeable that might be to the Duke of Ormonde, and some friends in England; to

* Stuart Papers.

which the Bishop seemed to say that he was in a situation of making it so to them. So I parted with the Bishop in assuring him that I would by no means accept of that, except an express order from the King obliged me to it. But I was persuaded the King would not impose it upon me till he knew the Duke of Ormonde's and friends in England opinion of it; and that when he (the Bishop) could assure me that it would be agreeable to them, that then I should be very much encouraged to obey the King's commands, and sacrifice my own peace and quiet to his service.*

The English Government were not ignorant of what was going on; Mar kept them well informed; but finding that James was likely to secure an abler counsellor, Walpole looked out for another informant where he knew traitors were plentiful and cheap. James, writing to the Duke of Ormonde on the 3rd of April, expresses a wish that his grace's journey to France may be hastened, "where he hopes that the Bishop of Rochester will soon be." Mar had ample time to communicate with his employer in England; and the result was, that so strong were the representations against the sojourn of the Duke of Ormonde in France made by the English Government, that to all applications in his favour the Duke of Bourbon found himself obliged to return a firm refusal.

Affairs were in this state when the following letter, almost entirely in cypher, was despatched:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

April 20, 1724.

Sir,

I this day received yours of April 1st; as to a part of which, relating to my conduct at Paris, I have further explained

* Stuart Papers.

myself in a letter I lately wrote, and in answer to which I may possibly receive your commands before I leave this place, which will be about the time that the Parliament rises—the ways, weather, and state of my health giving me no unavoidable hindrance. Though I thought it would be most for your service to let friends in England send to me first, as I judged they would do as soon as they recovered heart, yet, observing the great uneasiness of the Duke of Ormonde, guessing at the grounds and apprehending the consequences of it, I resolved for his sake to depart from my intentions, and despatched one into England to solicit his affair, and who might at the same time bring me some account how things stood in relation to the public.

The person I sent returned a few days ago. He has succeeded as to the Duke of Ormonde, and forced a return to his use, and obtained a new assurance of what had been solemnly promised me before I left England, which, if performed, the Duke of Ormonde will be perfectly easy. I am sorry to find my conjectures not wrong—that there was an aim towards working the Duke into compliances, and that in order to it endeavours were using to procure a sign-manual to qualify some people to correspond with him, of which I believe the Duke was altogether ignorant. and have, therefore, sent him word of it. I hope that scheme is, or will be, broken. The Duke writes with more resentment on this occasion than I have found him express on any other. He is eagerly desirous of meeting me at Paris, and has got the Maréschal de Tessé to interpose on this head, but sends me word he knew nothing of the applications made in this respect, either to the late Duke of Orleans or the present Duke of Bourbon, till they were over. I am, therefore, still of opinion that the second needless application to the Duke of Bourbon was artfully made on purpose to prevent his coming, which will be to me a great disappointment, and of ill consequence I fear to your affairs.

The method his friends have taken to make this return—to which they were forced—would not deserve a mention, but that it shows in what a dejected state they are, and how full of fears since they paid the sum to a friend of mine without any receipt, and left me to get it over and transmit it to Madrid as I could, and would not be persuaded even to see the person I sent on that

errand. Those to whom I directed him to apply on a more public occasion had the like caution also, and appear not to be yet recovered from the fright they were in upon the voyage given me. He had much ado to get their sense of things in any point, even at second hand, for their opinion is that, in the present state of matters, their enemies being absolute masters, they ought to lie still till the others break among themselves, or some favourable opportunity happens. This is their present disposition, though perhaps Lord North and Grey, and two or three more, of whose zeal there is no question, may speak another language.

I sounded friends as to their opinion of a certain person in France, who has had a great share in transacting your affairs in France, and I can assure you, sir, that they are well informed and satisfied of all that belongs to him, and that no step you shall take towards putting things upon a better foot will give them any uneasiness. On the contrary, it will encourage them to entertain hopes of secrecy for the future; for they look upon the chief misfortunes that have happened of late to have arisen from thence.

This I took to be their sense when I left England, as it has been a good while mine; but I doubt not they have had since new lights in that case, the Ministry having thrown out several things to justify their rigours which have led our friends into proper discoveries, and, indeed, into a fixed opinion that whatsoever is transacted at Paris is soon, and certainly, known in the Court of England. You will, therefore, not blame the resolution I have taken of continuing on the reserve at Paris till I clearly see upon what ground I stand, and what probability there is that the credulity of some men will not be imposed on by the falseness of others. I speak to you, sir, with a freedom I do not usually take, but which I now think absolutely necessary, and hope you will be pleased to let me know how far it agrees with yours.

I have opened the affair of Mr. Hay both to the Duke of Ormonde and to friends in England, and do not find that that step will be unwelcome to either, as far as it can be set forward at present. The changes just now made in England will, in my opinion, have little affected, nor will those they have dismissed be either able or willing to make a breach upon, the party. The

expectation now is from their sitting after Easter, which was not at first designed, and will probably be attended with some step of consequence; perhaps an act to empower the Duke of Hanover to pardon Bolingbroke and others, unless the security they are under and their natural fierceness should make them think such measures now needless; which those who are in your service most wish may be the case. There is reason to think that, when they find themselves utterly at a loss to dive into the counsels and measures concerted for your service, they will take new steps of dividing your friends by the advice of those on whose secret assistance they can no longer rely.

I say nothing of the foreign affairs upon which you were pleased to write to me, being so little able either to judge of, or be serviceable in, these matters. I can only wish and pray that your negotiations abroad may succeed, upon which your chief dependence at present lies.

The original is not endorsed, but on the deciphered copy, Edgar, the secretary of James, has written "The Bishop of Rochester to the King," with the date.*

Lord Mar's intrigues to ruin those of James's adherents in whom he seemed inclined to place confidence, as well as to remove from him his most faithful advisers, with the object of more easily betraying him to his enemies, were particularly obvious in his underhand proceedings against the Hon. John Hay. These the Bishop had penetrated. Mr. Hay, in a letter to his brother-in-law, dated May 16, comments on the communication just given, and refers to an intention of having Lord Lansdowne at Rome to manage foreign affairs; but James preferred Hay for the post, and had pressed his acceptance of it with considerable warmth. Hay adds:—

I need not mention to you all his reasons for being intent on this affair, but must desire your advice and opinion on the

* Stuart Papers.

matter, with an explanation of the article I send you, and the Bishop's opinion at large, and plainly; for I am persuaded he can't wish me ill personally, and nobody doubts his wishing well to the King's affairs; and pray let me know his meaning of the last line "as far as it can be set forward at present." For my own part I am still of the same opinion I was of when I wrote to you on this subject last, and which I believe you'll find to be the Bishop's.*

Murray, in a letter dated January 28, had warned James of Lord Mar's endeavours to deprive him of the services of Mr. Hay—to whom, on the 27th of the next month, he wrote: "I will write to the Bishop to prevent him against many attempts that will certainly be made upon him in regard of you."† In a subsequent communication (May 22) he writes: "If the King gives way to these things, it is certain that no man of common prudence will ever enter into his service, and that Lord Mar, if his advice is followed after all that is past, will have the privilege *to sell him to his enemies at his pleasure hereafter.*" ‡

These extracts are given to show how malicious have been the misrepresentations of the Bishop's conduct as soon as he entered the Pretender's service. This Lord Mar had also endeavoured to prevent by reporting observations alleged to have been uttered by Atterbury respecting "the Queen"—the Princess Clementina—which were denied by him in the last letter he wrote from Brussels. The original is holograph, but unsigned.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE HON. JAMES MURRAY.

May 9, 1724.

Sir,

I thank you very heartily for yours, which confirmed

* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

some suspicions I had entertained of a correspondence between two persons, the contents of which were not always imparted to me, though, I dare say, the gentleman here never went so far as they pretend at Paris; for he appears not to me to be a person of so vile a character as to invent so gross and groundless a story. I have been so far from saying anything of that kind to him, or to any one, that I never thought it; and whatever discourse I have held with him on points of that kind, has been all built on a direct contrary supposition. And this he has declared before company in the frankest and firmest manner possible. The calumny, therefore, as dressed up must lie at other men's doors. Let who will be the author of it, I despise it and them: my actions and thoughts will for ever, I hope, be of a piece, and justify each other.*

I leave that gentleman behind me here, and take another to bear me company in my journey; so that you need not be under any uneasy apprehensions when you set out to meet me. The gentleman I bring is a right honest man, and the servants I bring with me never heard of your name. I add no more, but that I long to meet you on Thursday night, and will be upon the spot as early that day as I can persuade my coachman to bring me. Till then, adieu.†

The strong desire felt by James to possess so able a counsellor as Bishop Atterbury he expressed in a letter (Feb. 20) to Mr. Murray, who was to wait in the French capital to receive him. "The King" wrote:—

I shall be very impatient to know at once that you have been able to discourse with our true though infirm friend, and to hear of his being in France. You can say to him many things which cannot be written, and an old acquaintance will open the door to freer conversation. He knows how much I depend upon his help and advice, and I am persuaded he will let nothing discourage him, though it may be that some things he may see on this side of the water will be more likely to have

* The wife of James had become dissatisfied with her position, for reasons that had begun to excite much malicious gossip.

† Stuart Papers.

that effect than all he has of late undergone. They are new to him, but not to us; and, indeed, though such matters are always to be despised, I think they never deserved so much as at present our contempt and neglect, which alone will put things in a right canal without *éclat* or inconvenience. I can never forget neither what I am nor where I was born, no more than where I ought and desire to be; and by those views my conduct will be always directed, for I have but too much experience to guard me against advice that might lead me astray from those fixed points, though I have had enough of such of late. *Enfin*, do all you can to hinder our infirm friend from being troubled or concerned at what, in reality, doth not deserve it, nor any other attention; but not to mind such matters, and to go on the straight and right road whatever little rubs may be thrown in one's way. *

The rubs that awaited the new counsellor proved by no means so slight as are here anticipated. The office was one surrounded with difficulties, and Walpole's agents followed in the track of the exile with the unerring instinct of bloodhounds.

* Stuart Papers.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXILE IN PARIS.

"Bobbing John"—Lord Mar's Civilities to the Bishop—Vacillation of James—Atterbury examines Mar's Correspondence—Lord Lansdowne influenced by Mar—Virtuous Indignation—Complicity of the Pretender in the Corruption of his Minister—The Bishop's Improvement—Proposed Negotiations with the French Court—James's Commendations on the Bishop—He discovers Proofs of Mar's Treachery—His masterly Despatch to the Pretender on the State of his Affairs—Letter of James to his new Minister Plenipotentiary—Horace Walpole sent Ambassador to Paris—Desires the Removal of the Bishop—The Memorial—Defection of Lord Kinnoul—Atterbury's Despatch to "the King"—George I. and Lord Kinnoul—Atterbury's Revelations—Confidence of James in the Bishop.

MAR, desirous of earning the large pension he had accepted from the English Government, had drawn up a paper, and presented it to the French Minister, which, while pretending to forward the cause of "the Pretender," was certain of ruining it irretrievably. James did not give any consent to the project it contained; the chief feature of which was a scheme of invasion likely to excite the nationality of the English people against his cause; and not one of his counsellors was made aware of it in time to prevent its transmission to the Duke of Orleans. It was for

participating in this treason, of which Atterbury knew nothing till after his exile, that he was condemned; and the crooked mind in a crooked body, known among his countrymen as "Bobbing John," contrived also the means of fixing the guilt of it upon the Bishop.

Scarcely had the latter arrived in Paris when Lord Mar made an attempt to deceive him by an act of apparent frankness. He forwarded what was intended to represent the correspondence in which he had been engaged—some twelve bundles. He was evidently in no slight degree apprehensive for himself and his coadjutors; and while attempting to lull the Bishop's well-grounded suspicions, secretly endeavoured to prejudice the leading Jacobites then in the French capital against him. Atterbury perused the correspondence, and thought it prudent to appear satisfied.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

June 5, 1724.

My Lord,

I return the papers, exactly in the same order in which they lay in the several bundles, and assure you that nobody living besides myself has seen a line of them since they were in my hands. Your grace has my sincere thanks for the pleasure and instruction which the perusal of them has afforded me. The frank and open manner in which you have been pleased to act on this occasion could not fail of making proper impressions; and I shall therefore be very free always to own my sentiments (built in the lights you have afforded me), that your grace's conduct on the point liable to general exception* had, if not the previous, yet the subsequent approbation of those on this side of the water whose good opinion was of the greatest value to

* His acceptance of a pension from the English Government.

you. And so far your grace must be allowed to be justified, even in the judgment of those who see that matter in another light, and have entertained quite different thoughts of it. I think it becomes me, with equal frankness, to own to your grace my poor sentiments on that head, whenever you shall please to require them, either with or without any other witness than ourselves.

I am, with all that respect that becomes me, my lord,

Your grace's most humble and
Most obedient servant,
FRA. ROFFEN.

P.S.—I need make no apology to your grace for not waiting upon you; my want of limbs is but too just, though a very melancholy, excuse. My son Morice will beg leave to attend Lord Erskine, and own the favour I received from him, and the honour done both to himself and his wife by your grace.*

It will be seen by the signature to this letter that, though the Government caused him to be styled "the late Bishop of Rochester," he was not disposed to lay down his title. It had been bestowed upon him by a Stuart (Queen Anne), and as a true Jacobite he could not acknowledge the right of a Guelph to take it away.

"The King," replying to Mar (June 26), observes:—

I am glad you are so well pleased with our friend lately come from Flanders. You can't place your confidence in a more valuable person, nor in one who wishes better to my person and cause; his zeal for which will be the rule, I am sure, of all his actions.†

James, however, was desirous that the Bishop

* Stuart Papers. Both Lord Mar and his son had paid a complimentary visit to Atterbury on his arrival in the French capital, and the former had offered to put his carriage at the Bishop's service, that he and Mr. and Mrs. Morice might the more easily be made acquainted with the attractions of Paris.

† *Ibid.*

should be thoroughly informed as to the position of his affairs; and a few days later (July 6) communicated what Lord Mar had informed him, and proffered the correspondence of his more than doubtful adherent. He wrote:—

> Lord Mar writes to me, that he had communicated several papers to you, and would make me believe that he is on pretty good terms with you; so that to the end you may have a clear view of everything, I send you several letters of his to me, and copies of mine to him. His, dated in the month of February, 1721, with my answer, is all the information I can give you as to that affair; for I own to you I have no particular remembrance of what passed further on that subject. You will see plainly how gross a mistake I made in not sooner withdrawing my confidence from the Duke of Mar;* but the point is now neither to conceal nor vex oneself about what is past, but to provide for the remedy for the time to come; which is, I think, in great measure already effected.†

He concludes by expressing a low opinion of his former counsellor, but does not seem inclined openly to quarrel with him. There were reasons for this. Mar must have been acquainted with more than one transaction of as questionable a character as the acceptance of the £3,000 a year, and James thought it prudent not to exasperate the man by attempting to disgrace him.

As regards Bishop Atterbury's relations with Lord Mar, it seems that his lordship imagined, from the preceding communication, that he had succeeded in his object; but his offering to show the exile and his daughter the sights of Paris was thus declined:—

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* The ducal title had been conferred by James.

† Stuart Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF MAR.

June 10, 1724.

My Lord,

I cannot think of stirring anywhither till I have my clothes from the Douane, and have fixed the point of a house. 'Till then I must punish myself by staying at home, let the weather, the company, or the occasion be never so tempting. However, I return my humble thanks to your lordship for the kind invitation, which I shall with so much the less uneasiness decline, because I have the opportunity of conversing with your lordship here at home in those papers you were pleased to put into my hands, which have given me a great entertainment. I am gotten through the better part of them; and, when the interruptions of company give me leave, take as much pleasure in the views they afford me as I should in any of the charming prospects about Paris, of which I have heard much, but shall, I believe, know little by experience how long soever I may stay here. I had just sent to your grace to inquire after Lord Erskine's health, and am glad to find by your servant that he is better. Would your grace pardon my ill breeding, I would beg you to give my Lord Lansdowne my respects, who, I suppose, had rather receive them that way than by any one that is known to be of my family. Though I never observed my lord's temper to lean much towards the side of caution, yet since he thinks it necessary now, I must think so too, and conclude he has good reasons for it.—I am, &c.*

This over-courteous note, with its polite reference to Lord Lansdowne, made Lord Mar aware that the writer entertained a pretty correct notion of the value of his civilities. Why Lord Lansdowne had not visited Bishop Atterbury is thus shadowed forth in a letter from Mr. Murray to his brother-in-law:—

L. has not seen him, which is astonishing to the last degree. I fancy Lord Mar dares not trust him in the other man's company, and that he has hitherto prevailed upon him not to go.†

* Stuart Papers.

† *Ibid.* Mr. Hay replied: "I am heartily sorry L. should be so cold towards his old friend the Bishop as not to have found a way of seeing him since he

Lord Lansdowne, however, did make his appearance at last; and the Bishop having found out that in the correspondence ostentatiously submitted to him important portions had been kept back, did not fail to make his friend acquainted with the ruse. He soon afterwards received from Mr. Hay particulars of the memorial Lord Mar had sent to the Duke of Orleans. This Lord Mar pretended to resent, when he found the Bishop had taken his line, and addressed James in a strain of almost virtuous indignation; yet, as will be seen at the end, acknowledging his sins of omission, if not of commission. He wrote (July 19):—

This affair [the memorial] is laid to my charge as an article of the Highest Treason, but that is not the only one; there being three or four others which he [Atterbury] has picked out of some papers of my own, that in confidence, and, as I told him, as if he had been my confessor, I had laid before him for his information of some facts and points he wanted to be clear in. But, notwithstanding of this, he spoke of these last points or articles, as well as of the first, to Mr. Dillon and Lord Lansdowne—at least before he mentioned them to me, save a very little he said upon a general indemnity, though I had been several times with him alone after his perusing my papers, of which he never asked me any explanation, and though these two gentlemen be my friends: this appears not very fair, since he had found these articles out of what I had in such confidence put into his hands. But I let this pass, and these articles give me very little pain, even were I to answer for them to the Parliament of England, upon a Restoration, *I not being simple enough to have showed him what would militate against myself.*[*]

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has been in Paris. The impression any argument from a certain person has upon him is pretty plain, for sure his own inclination must have led him to have gone to him."

[*] Stuart Papers.

His correspondent had, however, already been made acquainted with his artifice, in a letter (June 10th) from Mr. Murray:—

> Lord Mar has put into Atterbury's hands his portfeuil of letters, leaving it to him to judge of the part he has acted since he left Rome. I find that, nothwithstanding the great air of sincerity which appeared at first in this behaviour, there are several letters wanting, and particularly of Mar's to Lord Stair, and that the sum of all he has shown, of which there are many from yourself, amounts only to prove that you had consented in the strongest terms to his taking a pension from George, as *a measure which you thought might be extremely useful to you.* *

This looks very like an acknowledgment that the two, to use a familiar phrase, "went snacks;" and it is not unlikely that the extremely politic Minister designed the bribe, if not with this object, at least to suggest how capital a market was open to James if he would wink at his Secretary of State's betraying the political opponents of the British Government.

A very little time after his arrival in Paris the Bishop's health showed a manifest improvement; a decided reaction took place, and he shook off the depression which had been created by his long captivity and cruel banishment. He felt himself a free man, in the free enjoyment of his domestic affections, and the free exercise of his superior intelligence. He was once more the delightful company he had been wont to be in a circle that included the finest intellects that flourished in the brilliant era of Queen Anne. His society now was of a totally different character; and it is curious to see how the adven-

* Stuart Papers.

turers amongst whom he was thrown became charmed out of their first reserve by his genial manner. Two of them were Irishmen, General Dillon and Daniel O'Brien; and the first, writing to James, says of the other:—

[He] gives an account of some close questions made him by the Bishop of Rochester. He has questioned me often in the same manner, to which I answered in general terms, keeping up to superior directions. I hope, however, you will let me know what length I am to go with this gentleman, whose conversation and company I am highly pleased with.*

They had not yet received instructions from Rome as to the manner in which they were to treat the Bishop, and were necessarily not quite so open as he, in his desire to make himself master of the situation, attempted to be. There was one obstacle to his taking any active part in negotiating with the French Court—his knowledge of the language was imperfect; but General Dillon, who was on the best terms with the Duke de Bourbon, and spoke French well, might be directed by him; and thus his experience and judgment be turned to profitable account. This is made sufficiently evident in a letter from Hay to Murray (April 4).

The King, you may believe, does not intend to employ our friend at the Court where you are: the want of language is a plain obstacle to that, were it otherways advisable, and no other objection to it, to which his bad state of health and infirmity is a great one; but the King thinks he may be very useful to any person who may be employed there. He thinks a good many friends may choose to correspond with our friend as to home affairs.†

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* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

There were other ways in which his great talents and the respectability of his character might greatly assist the cause. They are thus indicated in the same communication:—

The King thinks that our friend, being in your parts for some time, will go far to removing jealousies and diffidences that subsist at present, or at least occasion their being of no bad consequence for his service, which is the main thing to be looked into.*

Murray wrote to "the King" (June 10),† approving this suggestion, and in commendation of the Bishop:—

He has most certainly an admirable understanding, and therefore, though his want of language makes it difficult for him to treat personally with the French Ministers, yet if General Dillon had orders to consult with him, I am very sure that such advice would prevent the others making many false steps. By all I can judge, no such orders have as yet been given, and therefore I submit to you whether, in that case, you will not think it for your service to supply this defect. He is full of zeal for the cause, and will, I am confident, be very glad to find room to act in it in a manner that may be honourable for himself, and promote it effectually.†

Lord Mar had written to Bishop Atterbury, when forwarding the first batch of the correspondence, with an assumption of profound sincerity (May 29):—

I hope your lordship will see clearly and be convinced by them that I am not so much in the fault or to blame as perhaps you may have heard, or be made believe; and that I have done nothing unbecoming an honest sincere man, nor to be ashamed of, but have done all in my power to serve my master, and the cause we have been so long and so much concerned in, and that I hope your lordship shall still have a principal hand in bringing it to a grand and prosperous issue.‡

* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

He also wrote (June 5) to James, stating what he had done, in these terms:—

You would have accounts of a friend's being lately arrived here from Flanders. I have been several times with him, and I hope we are very good friends. The way he and I have been in at our last parting as well as since, the regard that is due to him upon several accounts, the good of the service in general, and to do justice to truth and myself, made me think myself obliged to give him the fullest accounts I could of several things, particularly for these last four or five years, of what had passed with us on this side the sea, in which I found him but very lamely and ill informed; and that many false stories, which had been designedly put about by malicious over-busy people, had not been without making some impression on him against some particular persons, in which great pains I know had been taken, especially of late; for doing of which I gave him papers to read, which showed a great many of those facts to demonstration, and not upon hearsay, or taking them upon this or that man's word; and these have taken up all the spare time he could bestow on reading them for these eight days last past. He told me last night that he would be got quite through this day, and return them to me in the evening; and next time we are together it is probable we may have some discourse about them. I own to set him right as to some points about myself, in which I found him very ill informed, was a principal view of my doing of this; that all I shall ever want for doing of that with him, or anybody else, is to have the truth fully and impartially told; and when it is so, it is but just that people's characters and reputation should stand or fall by their actions.*

Mar must have been an accomplished dissembler, or he could not have faced the man he had betrayed for a handsome bribe. He was quite unaware that among the papers he had forwarded there existed unquestionable evidence of his guilt.

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* Stuart Papers.

Such was the condition of things around, when the new Plenipotentiary made his first report to his employer:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

Sir, Paris, June 19, 1724.

I came hither April 20th, which was as soon as I was really capable of performing the journey. I have been ever since confined to my lodging, not, I thank God, through the want of health, but of strength in my limbs, which yet is by slow and insensible degrees returning. I was willing to inform myself of the true situation of affairs here before I wrote. In order to do it, it was requisite I should fully discourse the three persons chiefly concerned. Two of them I have seen often. Lord Lansdowne has yet excused himself from seeing me; and though with Mr. Dillon I have on some tender points discoursed very freely, yet I find plainly he is under reserves, that his confidence is elsewhere, and that the end of his conversation hath hitherto been to induce me to believe all right that has happened, and to take my share in the transactions upon the foot they have lately stood and still stand. I have told him that cannot be, and have with sufficient plainness insinuated the reasons of my conduct. These are built partly on what I knew before I left Brussels, or indeed England, and partly on the discoveries I have here made from some papers and letters imparted to me by the Duke of Mar himself, as containing a justification of his measures. They have appeared to me in a very different light, and have opened new scenes which abundantly confirm the opinions I had entertained, and afford me yet further grounds for them. I have invited him to discourse these matters over, either by ourselves or in the presence of his friends, but he has not yet given me any occasion of doing it, and has rather been willing to hear from Mr. Dillon my thoughts on those heads—which I have not concealed—the sum of which was, that whether the steps he had taken were justifiable or not, yet all confidence was actually destroyed between him and your friends by the means of them. Of this I believe he is now satisfied; and, if I judge right, has thoughts of retiring as soon as his affairs now transacting in England by his lady are settled. He will endea-

vour that this shall be done without an open breach, and without noise, which I wish may be the case, for the reasons I imparted to Mr. Hay at Brussels. His chief strength lies in the subsequent approbations he obtained of his conduct, but their being almost in every instance subsequent lessens the force of them.

My conjectures in this case—and they are but conjectures—it is like they prove true. But what will be the issue of the whole affair, and how the other two will behave upon it, I am too much in the dark to their thoughts and designs to be able to say. Only thus much I think I see, through all their reserves, that the union and confidence of all kinds between them is at present very strict, and that I gain but slowly; though I think I gain a little upon him of the three with whom I have had most discourse, and who has been so far dipped in the measures taken, and has acted with such an implicit deference to the sentiments of another, that I believe he thinks it and will find it extremely hard to extricate himself whenever it shall become absolutely necessary.

I find no reason to retract whatever I said to you, sir, at a greater distance. If this were a juncture at which anything should happen highly favourable to your cause, I see not with whom at present it could be safely concerted and transacted. But I find not that there is any immediate occasion for such a concert, and as the scene changes time may better things.

I have no settled correspondence with England, and am as yet incapable of fixing any, so I cannot promise any great lights from that quarter, nor do I apprehend that there are any of consequence to be imparted from thence at present. Lord North, I hear, is coming over in a few days. I shall meet him five leagues off, and know his errand. I apprehend not that there is anything particular in it. I have formerly said, that whenever the knot here is broken new measures will be tried, and probably particular pardons or general acts of indemnity be solicited. These will divide your friends and utterly break your interests, though that has not hindered their having been long uppermost in the thoughts of a certain person, as appears from his papers. They are beginning in England with Alderman Barber on this head, and have actually offered him his pardon here for £3,000, which it shall not be my fault if he accepts. They are doubtless directed to such offers by private advices

given them. More of this I fear will appear in a little time. I wish I may prove a false prophet. They find their mistake, I believe, in not prosecuting the Act of Indemnity, which they had even thought in the last session, and will try to retrieve it. The three ladies that left this place at my coming hither have, I fear, something of this kind either in their instructions or views.

Of the situation of the French Court I know nothing but what drops now and then from Mr. Dillon. I wish he himself may know it surely, and then you will be thoroughly informed of it.

I have learnt from good hands that the British Minister here has made application to remove me from hence, but without success. I think that step was not worth his while, for I see not that I am or shall be of any moment here. However, I have taken a house, and shall go into it soon, but without obliging myself to keep it beyond six months. The clergy and laity of distinction, whether with or without an intimation from Court I as yet know not, seem cautious of visiting me, at which I am no otherwise displeased than as it implies their fear of disobliging the Court of England, and consequently their own. That situation sure will be of no long continuance. When I see clearer I shall write more fully. At present I am much in the dark, and know not how long I may continue so. However, I would no longer defer what I reckoned a point of duty, though it could be of no great use or service. Earl Marischal is going soon to Spain; by him I shall write fully to the Duke of Ormonde, who, I find, from some mysterious expressions in a letter from that side, thinks your affairs may and will be put upon another foot than formerly.

James has endorsed this, "Bp. of Rochester," with the date.* He could not have read it without recognizing the talent for the consideration of public affairs it developed, and probably anticipated that with so sagacious a counsellor he might retrieve the false steps the incapacity and treachery of former advisers had compelled him to take.

The indecision and timidity of James were appa-

* Stuart Papers.

rent in his conduct towards the Earl of Mar after he had been convinced of his treachery: he continued to trust him with his secrets, and permitted him to understand that he was afraid of coming to an open rupture with him. Murray wrote:—

Dillon said two days ago to an acquaintance of mine, that it was impossible for him to serve the King on the footing he now stood, since he saw the Bishop suspected Mar to have betrayed the King, and had reason to think that the King was not, it may be, of a different opinion; and that, notwithstanding this, he had an order from the King still subsisting to communicate everything to Lord Mar.

While writing to the Bishop, James states:—

I am still of opinion that no step must be taken directly against the Duke of Mar, or that has an air of harshness in relation to his two confidants.*

James wrote to Atterbury soon after the latter's arrival in the French capital, to this effect:—

It is with no small satisfaction that I have heard from several hands of your continuing in so good heath since your arrival in Paris. I hope next post I shall have it confirmed to me from yourself; and, in the mean time, I would not delay giving you some general lights which are necessary to enable you to be of that use to me and the good cause as I know you desire to be.

Walpole had of course early intimation of the exile's employment, and determined either to get him sent from Paris or obtain such an insight into his proceedings as should enable him to anticipate them. His brother Horace, who enjoyed a small reputation as a diplomatist, and was fraternally

* Stuart Papers.

zealous, was despatched to the spot in the capacity of Ambassador, and an application made to the French Government to remove the Jacobite Plenipotentiary.

After the receipt of the Bishop's despatch, James replied (July 15):—

I think the English Government, by asking your removal, shows also how useful you may be where you are. I do not apprehend that you will be molested, and I can easily see that your presence there will become more necessary than ever whenever the Duke of Bourbon takes a final resolution.*

He also wrote:—

I am sensible your situation in that country cannot but be disagreeable to you; and the rather that it carries with it an appearance of being useless at this time. But after this where can we be agreeably out of our own country? Or where can you be more useful than in a place from whence, more than anywhere else, you have facilities of corresponding with my friends in all other places?†

Notwithstanding these assurances, the new Minister was not contented with his position. He could not see half the difficulties with which it was surrounded, but had ascertained quite enough to satisfy his shrewd intellect that there existed no security for diplomatic action in the cause he had embraced. Nevertheless he went on in his course with a conscientious desire to make the best of it.

The Hon. John Hay had been shown, when in Paris, a copy of the memorial drawn up by Lord Mar. His lordship had transmitted another to Rome; Mar knew that Hay would be consulted upon it on his return; but the latter was not to be imposed

* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

upon—moreover, he at once communicated what he had learnt to Bishop Atterbury, first sending a *précis*, and then a correct copy of the document, with a detailed account of its origin. He also wrote to Murray stating what he had done. Respecting that state paper he said:—

> Lord Mar showed it to me at Paris, and when he saw I did not approve it he turned tail. It is worth coming from Bar to Paris to see it. It is, indeed, a masterpiece; and a ticklish snare; but the King was too cunning for him, for he never so much as acknowledged the receipt of it. I have recommended to the Bishop the greatest caution in the use he makes of my information. The Memoire is a two-edged tool, and cuts on all sides.

The Bishop's indignation may be imagined when, while perusing the papers that had been forwarded to him, he became master of this intrigue. He saw at once the importance of making those of "the King's" friends who placed confidence in Lord Mar acquainted with the infamous transaction; but was surprised to find that Lord Lansdowne did not appear to share his feelings. Mr. Hay wrote to the Bishop attributing Lord Lansdowne's indifference to his lordship's unwillingness to acknowledge that he had been imposed upon. Much correspondence took place respecting this memorial, the true friends of James fearing that Mar would publish it out of spite.

It is not easy to trace the manufacture of this precious document, but a suspicion was entertained that Father Inese, the Catholic priest some time since dismissed from St. Germains, assisted Lord Mar in its composition. Mr. Hay, in a letter to the

Bishop (July 25), says:—"Dr. Inese perhaps made the wheels, but Lord Mar put them together." Probably some of the machinery was manufactured in England; for instance, the stipulations of a proposed treaty between James and the King of France, which were—

I. That the King of France should use his utmost endeavours to settle the King [James] upon the throne of his ancestors, in furnishing him with troops, arms, ships, and in general with everything that shall be necessary for a descent; that the King shall be obliged to pay and entertain these troops at his expense eight days after their landing in Great Britain; and that France shall be repaid of the expenses of said expedition after the King's restoration.

II. That the King shall be obliged by the said treaty *to restore the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland* to their *ancient liberty and independency*—upon the kingdom, the Parliament, and the counsels of England—*and to be governed in time coming by laws made by their own Parliaments;* and that the chief of these laws shall be concerted and fixed before the French troops leave Great Britain.

III. That the King shall be obliged to furnish to the King of France troops to the number of 5,000 Scots, and as many Irish—and even the double, if required; that the King of France shall be obliged to entertain the said troops; that the officers shall receive their commissions from him, but shall be recommended by the King of England and his lawful heirs; and that the said troops shall have leave to return into Great Britain when the King shall demand them—the time and manner to be agreed upon with the King of France by the articles of treaty.

IV. That the said treaty and all that belongs to it shall be ratified and confirmed in *the three Parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, before the French troops leave the kingdom.*

If Walpole could only have got the Pretender's consent to this partition treaty, he was perfectly

* Stuart Papers.

aware that the Jacobite cause would be of easy extinction. Bishop Atterbury was fully sensible of the danger that James had escaped by withholding his sanction to it, at the instigation of his more prudent counsellors Hay and Murray, and this aggravated the feeling a knowledge of Mar's treachery to himself had created. After the Whig Government had succeeded in gaining over Lord Mar, they made another effort on the little circle that immediately surrounded "the Pretender." Lord Kinnoul,* the elder brother of the Hon. John Hay, was in England, and though a leading Tory—his wife being the youngest daughter of Lord Oxford—he permitted himself to be bribed with an annual income and an English peerage. This defection was alarmingly suggestive to the friends of the cause, from the intimate connection of Lord Kinnoul with persons in James's confidence; nevertheless the advice the Bishop gives on the subject is sound and statesmanlike.

Under the impressions made on him by a knowledge of these events, he wrote again to Rome:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "THE KING."

July 23, 1724.

Sir,

The large packet of July 4 reached me safe. I have thrown my eye over all contained in it, but hitherto in a careless manner. I will make the best use I can of the lights you are pleased to afford me. What surprises me most is Lord Mar's free and assured manner of writing, in which even innocence and ill treatment would not justify him. I am far from thinking the slow measures you are pleased to take, wrong; I have liked

* George Henry, 7th Earl.

them the better for being slow, as Mr. Hay well knows, and entertained the greater hope of their being sure ones. Only, as to Dillon's conduct, I cannot but observe two things—one, that by virtue of the orders of secrecy given him, I suppose, as to particular cases of moment, he hides everything of every kind from me as cautiously as if I were an enemy. Another, that he does not so much as impart to me the order of secrecy he has received, as questionless he has done to the two others, with relation to those particular points he thinks himself obliged to conceal from them—which are, I dare say, exceeding few; so that he treats me in this case with a peculiar neglect, without entering into any excuse or apology on that head, though he had instructions I think so to do.

This I fear will not make the way easier to a future confidence between us, nor give proper impressions to those who look on, and have opportunities of observing the difference of his conduct. The longer he continues at this distance the more unwilling he will probably be to make approaches when they shall be judged necessary; and will by that time have contracted a peevishness which his advisers may improve into mischievous consequences. These are apprehensions, sir, which I thought myself bound to lay before you; and having done so, shall add nothing further on that article; for, after all, no man but yourself can form a true judgment how far you are to go in such cases, and when and where you are to stop. I plainly see the inconveniences here, but there may be twenty others that you, sir, see elsewhere, and that I neither am nor can be aware of.

I have written to Mr. Hay my sense of the affair of Lord Kinnoul, which is, I think, so clear a point as to admit of no doubt. It is a new point whether this be a proper juncture to execute the intentions you have had in relation to him. For my part, I begin to think it is; though I foresee the advantages that will be taken of this step and the noise that will be made; but sometimes a stroke of this kind is of greater importance towards dissipating little oppositions than more slow and wary measures. I am inclined to think this to be the case at present. While this matter continues in suspense—as you yourself, sir, have foreseen—no arts will be wanting to hinder it, to lay in prejudices with all friends everywhere against it, and to excite

them some way or other to intimate their sentiments upon it. When it is done, all your faithful friends will justify it; and those that are not so would equally blame any measures taken by you while your favour to Mr. Hay continued. This reasoning, you will say, was always good: however, sir, it grows stronger now when Lord Kinnoul's behaviour seems to make it necessary that something should be done on your side to show that you apprehend no ill consequences from it, and are perfectly secure of his brother's attachment and fidelity to you. It will show a scorn of the measures taken elsewhere to increase jealousies, which I am apt to think—though without proof—may have taken their rise from hence, and have been suggested by one whose particular interest it was on many accounts that such a step should be made by the Ministry of England and should succeed, and who is perpetually, in an artful manner, playing the same game here with relation to many others; and the longer he is thought to be in any degree of confidence will have so much the more time and room to play it.

But whether this be so or not, and from whatever cause this conduct of Lord Kinnoul sprung, it deserves your thought whether the executing what you intended may not be the best way to obviate the ill consequences of what has happened, and to show that you know how to distinguish between the arts of false friends and the trial of true ones, and are determined to reward one at the same time that you despise the other. All this is submitted to you, and whatever resolution you shall take I will not fail to do my part towards making others approve it. Should you think fit so to act, you will be pleased yourself to notify it to the Duke of Ormonde, and I wish also to Earl Marischal, who is a most worthy man, of the greatest honour, and that bears the truest regard to you; and to order Dillon to impart it to Lord Mar, Lord Lansdowne, and the Bishop of Rochester—if you shall judge that step also proper—and all of us to declare to your friends here and elsewhere the reasons of your conduct.

I have discoursed Earl Marischal and others about the clans, and do not find there is any real foundation for the earnest and even rude representations Lord Mar has made on that head. If there be, he first raised the resentments before he argued from them, and endeavoured, at the expense of your ease and

interest, to render himself popular for a time, when he foresaw it would be of use to him to say that he suffered for the regard he had shown to his countrymen.

The little contrivances and devices that you apprehend to have been the consequences of the pension and the memorial, I am not surprised at. It is all of a piece. I can imagine what might be suggested of this kind by one step taken about seven or eight months ago, which I knew nothing of till I came to this place; but will own to you, sir, some concern I was under on that account, especially when I heard from whose advice it proceeded. My two preceding letters to Mr. Hay about the Pope will explain my meaning on this head. And permit me, sir, freely always to represent to you what appearances I think are absolutely necessary to be observed or avoided in order to your happy arrival at that point which shall be the continued object of my wishes and endeavours, and in order to your gaining it in such a manner as may render your happiness firm and durable. I add no more besides assurances of my neglecting no opportunities of rendering service to your cause as far as I am, by any lights I receive or any situation I am in, capable of promoting it, and as long as God shall continue such a measure of health to me as is requisite for that purpose.

This is endorsed "B. R." (Bishop of Rochester), with the date.*

General Dillon, when announcing to the little Court at Rome the conduct of Lord Kinnoul, wrote (June 26):—

The Bishop of Rochester had a long discourse with me on this head; he draws many discouraging inferences from what may ensue. It is true much may be said on the subject, but I think this is saying enough to one of the King's experience and penetration, and don't doubt his attending seriously to all relative consequences.

Writing to Bishop Atterbury, Mr. Hay remarks:—

I have seen a letter written to a friend of mine here, which gives me a great deal of uneasiness. It says that Lord Kinnoul

* Stuart Papers.

has been to wait on the Elector of Hanover, and that it is believed he has accepted £1,000 pension. I hope in God my information is bad, but pray put me at ease as to this. *

James writes (July 15) :—

What may be the consequences of Lord Kinnoul's late conduct is not easy to be determined; but I think there is too much reason to fear that the Government will endeavour to divide, if possible by soft means, the loyal party on their side; and that nothing will be neglected by a certain person at Paris to create divisions and jealousies amongst us on this.

Mr. Hay shared in that opinion. Writing to the Bishop (July 18), he asks :—

Pray may not this sudden change in my brother's way of thinking proceed from a politick of Lord Mar, who had always a good deal of influence over him?—and I make no doubt of his using his endeavours to make a sacrifice of one brother to be revenged of another. †

The writer then makes the first intimation of a step that was attended with consequences he could not have anticipated—the sending his wife to England.

On the authority of a letter written by Lord Mar to "the Pretender" (July 20), the conversation that passed between George I. and Lord Kinnoul on the latter's presenting himself at Court, is here given. It will be seen that, in addition to his Hanoverian Majesty's ignorance of the language of the people he governed, was his ignorance of the English nobility :—

"*King George* :—Le Colonel Hay qui est à Rome auprès du P—, est il votre parent?

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* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

"*Lord Kinnoul*:—Oui, sire; il est mon frère.

"*King George*:—Ha! j'en suis bien aise: on dit qu'il est fort honneste homme, et il se conduit fort sagement." *

The writer, with the Machiavellian spirit that belonged to him, then endeavours to insinuate doubts of the brother's fidelity; obviously, however, in revenge for his having taken part with the Bishop.

Lord Mar, finding that Atterbury would not suffer himself to be bamboozled, and that he had obtained a thorough knowledge of his intrigues, no longer disguised his hostility. He wrote complaints to Rome of the Bishop's proceedings, and did everything in his power to prejudice him in the opinion of his coadjutors. He obtained no advantage by this. James was convinced of the integrity as well as of the ability of his new counsellor, and presently impressed his opinion on his friends in France. All that was left Lord Mar to do was to betray to his employers in England whatever he could discover of the Bishop's negotiations in France. The latter, however, went steadily on till he had thoroughly unmasked the traitor and spy.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

July 31, 1724.

Sir,

I return my humble thanks for the opportunity given me of perusing the papers, which I reconvey by this post. They are of the same extraordinary nature with those I had before seen, and confirm all I had observed. I shall endeavour to make a proper use of the lights they afford me, as I have occasion. What relates to me you know, sir, to be utterly mistaken or

* Stuart Papers.

misrepresented in almost every article. The true reason of his [Lord Mar] not sending a copy of my late letter to him was not any nicety on that point—for he showed it as soon as he had received it to several—but because he knew it did not rise up to the interpretation he had made of it. I never wrote him any other than that since my coming hither, whatever he insinuates to the contrary, except one in answer to an invitation he gave me and my daughter to take the air in his coach with him, which I declined. Of the other letter I trouble you, sir, with a copy, that you may not judge it different from what it really was. You will find it expressed with wariness and that civility which I judged necessary at that juncture; but still consistent with the real sense I had of his conduct. They are the words of my letter, as it lies in the foul draft, without the least alteration that I am aware of. Pardon the impertinent trouble I give you in this respect—which will not be frequent. But I had no commands from you this post, and therefore took the opportunity of explaining this particular.

There is one thing, sir, that, upon the perusal of the letters he put into my hands, I think myself obliged to observe to you. It appears from them that when Mr. Churchill was here, May, 1722, to urge him to discover what he knew of the plot, *on account of favours conferred on him by K. G.* for some time past*—these are the words of the letter written to him by Lord Carteret in his own name, and those of Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole—it appears, I say, from the very letters he imparted to me, that he had several private meetings with Churchill by himself, and used to go to him a-nights for that purpose, and to receive visits from him at his own house, under the notion of Churchill's visiting his lady, who was at such times out of the way. One instance of this kind I will give *in terminis*, as it lies in those papers.

"May 28, 1722. Thursday, two o'clock. Mar writes to Churchill, to be at home at nine o'clock that night, and he would come to him." Afterwards, at one o'clock Friday morning, he writes thus: "I called at your lodgings twice after nine o'clock. If you want to say anything to me or *ask me about* before you write to-morrow (viz. to England), I suppose you would wish to do it *before the evening; and till then it will not do so well to be at your*

* King George.

lodgings; therefore, in that case, may you not call here about twelve, to see madam? and I'll endeavour that nobody shall be then with me. But you are the best judge—and good night."

These secret visits were without the privity of the other two [Lansdowne and Dillon], and what passed there may easily be guessed, and appeared by the event—particularly as to me, against whom, though the Ministry brought no proofs, yet they declared themselves to have infallible assurances of my guilt which they were not at liberty to produce. Since I am upon this subject, give me leave to add, that it appears from these papers that Churchill was despatched from London May 6, which was two days after the three letters supposed to have been written by me had been intercepted at the post-house, and were the first lights of that kind the English Ministry had. Churchill reached Paris May 10, and let Mar know, as Mar himself has owned, that those letters were intercepted, one of which was supposed to have been written by Mar himself. After that the two had many secret conferences; and the result of them was—as to me—that Mar, on May 22, writes a letter to me, printed in the report, and sends it by the common post, which he knew at that time to be most narrowly watched; and in that letter owns the receipt of mine, and describes me by my function, the late death of my wife, and a fit of the gout, from which I was just recovering—characters that agreed to no other person in the kingdom but myself. Nor is his letter anything but a mere compliment, without the least colour of business; so that no account can be given of sending it by the post, but in order to prove upon me the letter to which it was an answer. Accordingly this answer was—as it was intended to be—intercepted, and was the main evidence against me at my hearing. I have discoursed him on these circumstances, and he has nothing to say for himself that deserves the least attention.

I protest to you, sir, that what I mention is not with any peculiar regard to myself, but as an instance, and a very convincing one, of his acting such a part in your affairs as made all designs on your behalf abortive, and will for ever make them so while he is concerned in them, or any ways acquainted with them. While he is so, you will give me leave to say that I must not, I cannot meddle, without making myself an instrument of ruining your interest instead of supporting it. Something of

this kind, sir, I said to you in my first letter from hence, of June 19, and beg leave to repeat it now, without intending to trouble you any more on this article: at the same time I must own that unless the other two can be effectually and entirely separated from him, which I now see to be more difficult than I once thought it, I can no more enter into confidences with them than with him, though they are both in their characters and intentions very honourable men: however, they happen to have been misguided into measures no ways defensible, or even excusable, particularly Lord Lansdowne's particular intimacy with Churchill while he was here for near a month, on purpose to pick up evidence in order to hang all his friends in England.

Pray God direct you, sir, to take those wise steps which are necessary for your service, and would be equally necessary were I in my grave—as I shall not long be out of it if I once despair of finding a way to make my exile contribute to your restoration. I acknowledge the entire reasonableness of what you propose, and have already done, in relation to the separating Dillon from Mar, and wish it may be successful, though I am apprehensive it will not be so without some struggle—so far has that mutual communication of counsels been carried, and so deeply is the intimacy fixed that was founded upon them.

Nothing can become you more, or will be of more use towards rightly conducting your affairs, than the resolution you have taken of conducting them yourself, and employing such only as shall submit to those directions, and not pretend to control them. All your real friends will obey you, if they see you resolve to be obeyed. Vigour, union, firmness, and secrecy in your counsels will be the effect of this method. When you are seen and known to hold the reins in your own hands, the little struggles now kept afoot between your subjects and servants will vanish; you will consequently appear more formidable to your enemies at home, and more considerable to your friends abroad. Whereas, at present, Dillon knows well that the word at this Court is—"How can his affairs succeed while they are directed by one who has a pension from England?"

I have written by the last post my poor sense of what in your present circumstances seems requisite to be done in relation to Mr. Hay. I was never so clear on that point as now. I have explained myself at large, with respect both to your interest and

his own reputation. I do not think he can retreat without mischieving both. The jealousies he will by that means raise are natural and manifest; and those that do not mean him well, and have, to my knowledge, laid the snare, will smile at his falling into it.

There is in the original a passage of several lines that was carefully obliterated by the Bishop's correspondent, at his request, to prevent its coming to the knowledge of the person alluded to, who would be sure to see the letter. As far as can be judged by the context, the writer had dwelt on the probability of Mr. Hay being tempted, or forced by the condition of his private affairs, to follow his brother's example.

The Bishop continues:—

The only thing that can make Lord Kinnoul's defection considerable is, as it may affect Hay, and induce him to take a wrong turn upon it. It will be a wrong one, indeed, if after his enemies have, as I verily believe, suggested those counsels to the English Ministry which have wrought this effect, he should contribute to make their malicious craft successful. I am very full of this matter, and can hardly temper myself when I think of it. For God's sake, sir, let the subtle contrivers of these snares see that both you and those who honestly serve you are aware of their arts, and not only despise them, but know how to turn them to advantage, and to make the authors themselves feel the effects of them.

I have had an imperfect account of some persons who went to Italy upon some ill errand, and of advices of consequence sent you on that head, which had been highly useful. If there were any real danger, and it is over, your true servants ought to be satisfied, without being further inquisitive. Colonel Clephane arrived two days ago, as I find from Lord Mar, whom he has visited. Colonel MacMahon was not yesterday gone, being kept for some important despatch he is to carry, I suppose upon the return of Colonel Bret from England, which has been expected for above a fortnight past.

This is endorsed by the King "Bp. Rochester," with the date.*

The Pretender had written to Bishop Atterbury (July 4) to this effect:—

Past mistakes give one experience for the future, and I plainly see that the cause can never prosper without I act in a firm and masterly way, and in being the sole and chief director in my own business, employing and supporting those who, by their talents, their submission to me, and their disinterestedness, can only effectually contribute to the good of my service and the good cause, which no misfortunes nor disappointments will ever hinder me from forwarding to my utmost; nor will they debar me, I am sure, from finding good patriots who will help and concur with me for the common good, towards which, next to myself, I know none so much can contribute *as you. It is on your honour and advice that I do and ever shall chiefly depend* for the carrying on successfully my affairs; and your endeavours towards that will, I know, never be wanting.†

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* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

A MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Peter the Great—The Duke of Bourbon—"The Pretender's" Foreign Affairs—The Bishop dissatisfied—His Despatch to "James III." denouncing the Intrigues of Lord Mar—Discontent of the Highland Clans—Mrs. Hay leaves Rome for England—She is committed to Newgate—Probability of her having been tampered with—The Bishop's Protestantism objected to by General Dillon—Another Despatch from the new Minister—His Opinions on the Duke of Bourbon and the Czar—The Duchess of Bourbon—Misconduct of General Dillon—His Dismissal—Atterbury's political Embarrassments—Duke of Berwick and Lord Bolingbroke—The Bishop's Health—His Report to Rome on the State of Affairs—A Spy of Walpole's in Atterbury's House—The Bishop of Frejus—Arrogance of Murray—An Imbroglio—Proposed Marriage of Louis XV. with a granddaughter of George I.

THE post Atterbury was called upon to fill in the service of the nominal James III. was that of general adviser and supervisor of his affairs at home and abroad. He would have to advise "the King" on his policy towards such foreign Courts as seemed inclined to entertain or forward his pretensions. Of these James looked with the greatest confidence towards Russia, now governed by Peter the Great. This self-made autocrat professed to be ready to forward any scheme against the German King of England that offered a sufficient prospect of solid advantage to his own imperfect empire. The pretensions of James

afforded an opening for weakening the English power in Germany, to the attractions of which he was not insensible. The Czar, therefore, had listened to the proposals of the Duke of Ormonde, and had appeared to give them a favourable consideration.

The same policy was pursued by the Court of France. It seemed to the Duke of Bourbon possible that an opportunity might arise when the claimant of the English crown could be made use of for the advancement of French interests. There was therefore an appearance maintained of a willingness to join with Russia in supporting the son of France's very faithful but most unfortunate ally. Secret communications on this subject had passed between the diplomatists of France and Russia, and the Jacobites expected much from the negotiation. James, with his characteristic inconsistency, permitted General Dillon to conduct all business of this nature with the French Court without allowing his ostensible Chief Minister to know what he was doing; but this independence in a subordinate not being approved of by the Bishop, he was obliged to alter his proceedings. Writing to his new Plenipotentiary at Paris (July 4), he says:—

I shall direct him [Dillon] to impart everything to you, and to be guided by your advice, and yours alone, in the management of the affairs committed to his care.

On the 19th of the following month he added,—

I have by this post wrote to Dillon to confer frequently and freely with you upon my affairs, and to you only, directing him to endeavour to engage M. le Duc * to have a free and direct

* The Duke of Bourbon.

communication with you. By this means a very small time will show you what part Dillon is like to act; and equally prepare the way to bring you into Mons. le Duc's confidence, and to remove the other from it, if that step should become necessary. I also had a natural occasion by this post to mention you to Daniel O'Brien,* and to encourage his giving you what lights come to his knowledge as to my affairs. By what I know of him he is a young man of merit, and has behaved himself very well in the affairs lately committed to his care.†

The Bishop did not entertain a confident opinion of his ability to forward the Pretender's cause with the French Minister, of whose interest in it he seems to have entertained grave doubts. These Mr. Hay endeavoured to remove. Writing to him on the 25th of July, he says:—

I differ from you in your opinion that there is not much room for an intercourse betwixt you and the French Court, and the more because of what you say of Mr. Dillon's situation with Mons. le Duc.

Presently he adds,—

Perhaps promises in case of success might go a great way with him. Some governing ladies—cattle you don't much care to deal with—might likewise be gained that way. In short, I am far from thinking this a time for being idle, and I am persuaded in a little time the Bishop of Rochester will think so too.‡

So convinced had "the King" become of the advantage of securing the Bishop's services permanently, that (August 8) Hay wrote:—

The King desires me to tell you that he would be extremely sorry were you to have any thoughts of leaving Paris, even six months

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* A fellow-countryman of Dillon, and also a subordinate in the service of James. See *ante*, p. 30.

† Stuart Papers. ‡ *Ibid.*

hence, for in all probability the greatest part of his affairs must centre there; and were Dillon to think never so right, I believe you see pretty plainly how much he wants to be right guided. And how must the King's affairs be managed if you leave Paris?

Bishop Atterbury now might consider himself recognized as a Minister Plenipotentiary, but it is quite clear that he was more inclined to withdraw than to go on in the path open to him; he could not see his way.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

August 7, 1724.

Sir,

On August 4 I received your letter of July 15. After the long letters I have written successively every post, in order to be laid before you, I have little to add upon the subject of your last, but this—that though in the point of Lord Mar and of settling your affairs here upon a new foot I have thought delay requisite, yet I now begin to think and find it dangerous, as it gives him room to play a game here very mischievous to your interest, which he is dividing and breaking by all possible methods, and laying a foundation for further merit with and rewards from your enemies, even after he shall appear to be out of all your secrets as well as your service. How it comes to pass I know not, but of late he and his two friends* are more strictly united than ever, and more determined in appearance to stick by one another, and will probably be more and more so till you shall please to act in such a decisive manner as shall scatter at once all their little arts and contrivances. Till this be done, I now see that those who sincerely mean your interest, and only yours, here and elsewhere, can be of no use to it, and will have no credit, nor any heart to proceed.

Within two or three months a session of Parliament will be coming on, and by that time all the engines for distressing your interests will be ready. Some scheme should be out of hand formed for supporting it, else I fear it will suffer exceedingly.

The Duke of Ormonde will never come hither, or stir from

* Lord Lansdowne and General Dillon.

the place where he is, while they who are employed to solicit his remove are the very persons that have obstructed it. They were in earnest to have brought him hither before the Duke of Orleans died, in order to have taken a part in that wretched scheme they had just contrived, without opening the terms or the consequences of it to him.* After those measures were broke by the Duke of Orleans' death, they have dreaded his coming hither. As for what you were pleased to order should be said about me to the Duke of Bourbon, if his good thoughts of me can be turned any ways to the good of your cause, I shall desire them; otherwise it will be very indifferent to me how I am thought of here by him or by anybody that belongs to him. I pray for your prosperity, sir, not foreseeing how at present I can otherwise contribute to it.

I enclose a letter, the contents of which the writer was pleased to communicate to me. I presume not to interpose in matters which I understand not. However, I cannot forbear wishing success to a proposal which seems to tend so much to your service, and which comes to you from a hand to my knowledge so entirely devoted to it.†

The communication referred to was from Earl Marischal, enclosing one from McPherson, of Cluny, entreating the Lord Marischal to intercede with James in behalf of himself and his clan, who were likely to be expelled their country by the Duke of Gordon and Glenbucket. The King, in his reply to Lord Marischal, August 26, wrote:—

Our worthy though infirm friend at Paris has mentioned you more than once to me, in a manner suitable to the good opinion I have long had of you, and which I am very glad to see confirmed by so good a judge of men, and one so sincerely attached to you. He promises to write to the Duke of Gordon and Glenbucket in favour of the McPhersons of Cluny.†

Mr. Hay continued reluctant to accept the distinc-

* The stipulations in the Memorial. See *ante*, p. 39.

† Stuart Papers.

tion intended for him, which occasioned much correspondence with him and his brother-in-law on the subject. At last he despatched his wife to England (August 7), in the hope apparently of her being able to secure some portion of the family estates. "The King" writing to Atterbury, August 12, says:—

I am entirely of your opinion that this would be a proper time to declare my intentions as to Mr. Hay; but that is become impracticable till his wife is returned from t'other side. I wish, indeed, on that account that journey could have been avoided; but how could her husband neglect any lawful step to secure bread to her, and how could I obstruct it, when I can do nothing for them myself? *

Bishop Atterbury did not approve of Mrs. Hay's journey to England. Whether he suspected any ulterior design, or perceived the opening it would give the English Government to tamper with the younger brother, does not appear. She was to stop in Paris, and report herself to the Bishop, to whom her husband wrote (August 28):—

If I have made a wrong step in sending Mrs. Hay from hence, I hope you will have partly rectified it, in putting a stop to her journey to England, which will be adding a new obligation to the many others I have already received from you. I desired her to follow your advice in every particular.†

Her brother equally objected, but did not think it necessary to prohibit a journey that had obtained "the King's" sanction. He, however, wrote to her husband (October 23):—

I prepared her before she left this for being taken up and examined by the Council, and even for being sent back thereafter, if your brother [Lord Kinnoul] should solicit it.

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* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

Lord Mar soon learnt her arrival in Paris, and lost little time in making his employers acquainted with her destination. She crossed the Channel in safety, but on landing at Dover was arrested, conveyed to London, and lodged in Newgate. The Whig Government pretended to be alarmed respecting a new plot which, it was reported, this lady had come expressly from Rome to carry out, as an excuse for committing her to the common gaol for thieves and murderers; but Walpole was not likely to miss such a favourable opportunity for exercising his peculiar diplomacy, and while her friends were moving Rome and Paris to interpose for Mrs. Hay's liberation, the Bishop being overwhelmed with communications on the subject, the fair prisoner had been permitted to quit her dungeon, and was on her return to Paris.

Murray was quite as zealous in recommending Bishop Atterbury as his brother-in-law. Writing to James (June 10) he says:—

But as it is now fit to look forward, I am obliged to represent to you that in my poor opinion there is no way to extricate you from the difficulties this affair has drawn upon you but your having entire confidence in the Bishop. He is an honourable man, and certainly will never make a wrong use of it; besides it is natural to think that he will use freedom with you in what he writes of your affairs in proportion to the confidence you show him, and not otherways: for this reason I wish Mr. Hay had informed him plainly of your having *approved* of this pension,* as it now appears to him. If you feel you have made a wrong step in so doing, I will venture to say that it would be great in you to own it, and it would be of service, because till the Bishop knows plainly your own thoughts on these things it is

* Of £3,000 a year to Lord Mar, which it now appears James had sanctioned, perhaps had shared.

impossible for him to contrive any measures to put your affairs on a better footing.*

Unfortunately James was not capable of following this excellent counsel: his mind, such as it was, rested upon an uneasy pivot, on which old associations and partialities were constantly acting, so that it could not be kept steady, even to his own interests. Dillon, too, though loyal at heart, soon became prejudiced against the Anglican Bishop, partly because he was made to take orders from him when he desired to be independent, but in a great measure because he was a zealous Catholic, and could not reconcile himself to a heretic director. These influences are betrayed in his communications to Rome respecting his proceedings with the Bishop, of whom he writes:—

This gentleman seems to lay no great stress on the Duke of Bourbon's general assurances of friendship and promises of service whenever the affairs of this kingdom are settled to satisfaction, and that the King of France's interest† permits undertaking something effectual in the King's favour. I now find the Bishop of Rochester is not far from believing those general advances to be only an amusement in order to compass other purposes, and what fortifies him in this opinion is the Duke of Bourbon's continuing still to insist on the Czar's adjusting all differences with England, which, if done, would certainly prove of great prejudice to the King's interest, for many apparent reasons unnecessary to repeat.

The writer then goes on to report at length a discussion he had had with the Bishop, in which the latter had intimated that the Czar might unite with the Empire against the Hanoverian King of England for a joint invasion in support of James. He is, how-

* Stuart Papers. † Louis XV.

ever, in favour of a French interposition. On the same day he finished this despatch he wrote suggesting the probable mischief that might be done the cause of his master with his Catholic supporters in consequence of the Protestantism and alleged irritability of the new Minister Plenipotentiary. A reference to Lord Mar indicates the inspiration of this warning.

The Bishop's views were supported by Hay, who wrote to him (September 5) expressing similar ideas, adding,—

> What you observe in all probability will happen, that when the Elector of Hanover finds himself secured in Bremen and Verdun, and the Ostend Company* is demolished, he'll then endeavour to attach himself to France as the power most capable of doing him harm as King of England, and able to support him in his interest in Germany.†

The English Government had caused the Pretender to be driven out of Paris, then out of France, and had for some time been engaged in trying to effect his expulsion from Rome. This made him desirous of returning to Avignon, one advantage of which would be his being nearer to his new counsellor; but the Duke of Bourbon, whose interest in the cause Atterbury had sagaciously doubted, refused the favour required. The Bishop's penetration was rarely at fault, and now he applied it to discover the tie that connected General Dillon and Lord Lansdowne with the traitor Lord Mar. Other affairs, however, had to be disposed of, and of these he treats in the next despatch.

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* A Flemish association of traders to India regarded with great jealousy by rival companies.

† Stuart Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

October 2, 1724.

Sir,

General Dillon was with me again last night. I had not seen him since Thursday was 7-night, September 21. He showed me the letter to the Duchess of Bourbon, and what you were pleased to say of me there.* I wish I deserved it, that I might be the more capable of serving you; life itself being now no otherwise valuable to me than as it affords me occasion of doing it. He discoursed me more freely and openly on your affairs than formerly, and from the whole I am confirmed in my former opinion that the Duke of Bourbon's professions have no determined meaning, nor can he be of any real use to you while he pursues the track he is now in, which will lead him still farther and farther out of the way of serving you, and at last out of the possibility of doing it. In the mean time his repeated solicitations of the Czar, and the unlimited proffers England will make on that occasion, may prevail; and should the Duke of Hanover die without any previous disposition, agreed on towards making use of that juncture, the Czar perhaps may cool in his zeal, half of which I take to be founded on personal resentments. You will please, therefore, to consider whether this be not the time of pushing the Duke of Bourbon into clearer explanations of himself, and letting him see that you cannot rely on general assurances, which the very steps he now takes must frustrate; and insinuating by these means, though without saying it, that you may possibly turn yourself to other views, and resolve not to neglect so extraordinary a juncture.

Sir, it is certain that he makes great advantage of his pretended influence over you towards drawing England into all his measures. He knows the moment he is stripped of that advantage he must treat upon another foot, and will find England

* "Mons. de Dillon vous parlera, Madame, plus au long de toutes ces matières; et comme il est nécessaire que vous soyez bien instruite de ce qui peut regarder l'Angleterre, je vous prie très instamment de vous en laisser informer par l'Evêque de Rochester. Vous sçavez ce qu'il a souffert pour ma cause, et j'ai les plus grandes preuves de sa fidelité et de sa capacité dans les affaires. Il est d'un secret impénétrable et d'un zèle ardent mais éclairé; car je sçay par expérience combien il a toujours été éloigné d'approuver aucun projet en ma faveur qui n'eut pas une grande apparence de succès."—*Stuart Papers.*

cooler and less eager in the offers made to purchase France's friendship. An alarm, therefore, of the kind I mentioned, and followed by suitable steps and appearances in the place where you are—which will be sure to come round—cannot, I think, but be of use; especially if nothing said or done carries you beyond a retreat, and leaves the way still open to close with which side you shall judge at last means you best, and will act most openly for you. These, sir, are my poor thoughts, built on a firm persuasion that the way you are now in can possibly produce nothing but a gradual and slow destruction of your interest.

They are here in no manner of disposition to receive lights as to the true state of England. Their business is to strengthen England as much as they can, and by that means make it a more useful, because more potent, ally. They will be deaf, therefore, and inattentive to all papers and propositions of that kind which it is their manifest interest not to believe; or, if they do believe, yet to dissemble their sense of it. When their mind begins to receive another turn they may taste such overtures; at present it seems to me that no manner of good will be done by them. However, sir, since you have been pleased to mention somewhat of that kind in your letter to the Duchess of Bourbon, I shall not decline the service, though I expect no fruit from it, especially if I can find them in the least degree curious upon that article.

I shall not repeat what I have said in my former letters, and therefore add only that I have again discoursed Colonel O'Brien largely on your affairs, as far as he is acquainted with them, and find, not but that he is a man every way of worth, and whom one would desire to treat with on all other accounts, but that of some intimacies he has contracted, which yet I persuade myself will not stand in the way of his doing his duty. I mentioned to him my willingness to be acquainted with Prince Kurakin, and proposed a way for our dropping in upon one nother at his lodging, where he might interpret between us. He seemed to close with it but faintly, out of an apprehension, I plainly perceived, of offending General Dillon. I know not, sir, whether you will think fit to write a line to Prince Kurakin, recommending me to his confidence, and desiring Colonel O'Brien, under whose cover it may come, to favour that acquaintance. Perhaps it may turn to some account; how-

ever, I will take care that it shall be of no detriment to the service.*

The intention of James that Bishop Atterbury should communicate directly with the Duke of Bourbon he had endeavoured to facilitate by his letter to the Duchess. Hay had written to the Bishop (September 5):—

Mr. Dillon seems still to think that Mons. le Duc is a true well-wisher, though I think his behaviour at the same time shows that he is resolved to do nothing essential for the King—at least for some time. As a proof of this he has pressed the Czar to make up matters with the Elector of Hanover as King of England; but the Czar has refused it absolutely, though he is willing to treat with him as Elector of Hanover.

The same writer enters more fully into the subject in a despatch sent from Rome, October 17:—

I agree entirely with you as to the little hope there is at present, all things considered, of Mons. le Duc espousing the King's cause; yet as his politick may change, and that his present conduct may be occasioned by his newness in business, which might make him shy in changing the former course affairs were in, nothing ought to be neglected that can induce him to think favourably of the King's restoration. Nobody is able to discourse him on these subjects to better purpose than yourself; and that is the reason of the King's sending you by this post a letter to Mons. le Duc, that so you may have more ways than one of being introduced to him. It is certain that Mons. le Duc had always a personal friendship for the King, and it is as sure that at present he wants more than anything to procure a settlement for himself, and he has but a short time to work out his designs without being controlled; for in all probability the King of France will soon take the management of affairs upon himself, or, which is the same thing, will soon come to be governed by a mistress, or the like, so that it would be of advantage that it should be made appear to Mons. le Duc that

* Stuart Papers.

the King may be of the greatest use to him immediately upon his restoration. The King writes to Mons. le Duc, but only receives verbal answers from him, so that what you proposed for disturbing Mons. le Duc's game can't be brought about; and I think the Court of France ought to be plied the closer because there does not appear any shadow of hopes of the Emperor's so much as hearing any proposals that may be made to him from the King; and no step that ever has been made at the Court of Vienna has ever gone so great a length as to give any jealousy to the Court of France, though they were to be informed of it.*

The reserve of the French Duke might, it was hoped, be dissipated by the influence of his mother, and it was intended that a paper, describing the existing state of England, should be drawn up for their perusal. This idea General Dillon explained to "the King" (October 10):—

I observed to Atterbury that the King mentions to the Duchess she should receive from him the true state of affairs in England. I asked what method he intended to take for doing it? He answered, "By a memorial." The difficulty is who shall translate it into French, which he will trust to none but one of his own choice. Atterbury asked several questions, to know if papers of this kind would be safe in the Duke and Duchess's hands, and if there was no danger of their coming to Walpole's knowledge. I assured him he need not be in the least apprehension on that account. He told me then he would soon think of making up a memorial, "though," said he, "I must be free with Dillon in telling him what the King wrote in my behalf is rather to settle a confidence with the Duchess of Bourbon than anything else." †

Dillon was in the military service of France, which left him under an influence likely to be prejudicial to the interest of his nominal masters. There were

* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

still graver objections to his remaining in the service of James. Bishop Atterbury, among his new duties, appears to have included the business of finance, and discovered a state of accounts that exhibited unpardonable negligence. General Dillon was directed to forward papers and give information required by the Bishop to show what had been done with certain sums entrusted to him for the King's service; but withheld both. On the 19th of December James wrote to the Bishop, apprising him that he intended dismissing Dillon, but putting the cause "on the influence Lord Mar had over him, and of the share he himself had in Lord Mar's private negotiations with the late Duke of Orleans."* Mr. Murray, however, writing to his brother-in-law on the 22nd of the following month, states the case thus:—

Dillon has at last, after being solicited a fortnight, sent an answer that he has no such paper as the letter inquired after. He has taken no notice of the last orders sent him in relation to the Bishop, nor does the Bishop expect to hear from him on these heads for some months; nor can he decline saying that Dillon's sullen reserve and dilatory behaviour on these occasions seem not to him very consistent with those high professions of duty and submission he makes to the King, and sure he is that they are greatly prejudicial to the service. He wishes Dillon may be quicker in laying his accounts before the King, but believes he will not, and that nothing is so terrible to him as the entering into the clearing of that article; but hopes that the King, nevertheless, will insist upon despatch, and to have all things stated clearly, after which he may show his goodness to him at the foot of the account in what manner he pleases; but there is no room even for that till he is apprised of the true state of it. He desires me to add that, to his certain knowledge, when he was on the other side of the water, nothing

* Stuart Papers.

so much tied up the hands of the King's friends, when money was demanded from them, as the full persuasion that it would be misemployed on this side to purposes for which it was not intended, wherein, he fears, it will appear that they judged very truly.*

On looking carefully into the accounts, the bond of union between Lord Mar, General Dillon, and Lord Lansdowne became obvious. Colonel Churchill, in the memorable visit he paid to Paris to plot the Bishop's ruin, had contrived to secure the services of Lady Lansdowne by a retainer. General Dillon had also furnished Lord Lansdowne with money from funds in his hands belonging to "the King." Hay, on the 2nd of January, had written to the Bishop:—

The offer made to my Lady Lansdowne by Churchill is entirely new here, and the money Mr. Dillon gave my lord was given, as Mr. Dillon represented, to save him from a public affront. I was always suspicious that there was some secret history in my Lord Lansdowne's conduct which attached him so close to the Duke of Mar, and now I begin to believe that I was in the right. The Duke of Mar has contrived very well to get Lord Lansdowne as much in his power as he was in my Lord's. If Dillon has not dipped in the dish too, which I can't believe, sure he must be ashamed of himself, and cry *peccavi* at last; and 'tis unpardonable in him not to have acquainted the King with the true motive of giving that money.†

There could be no doubt upon this point, but the triumvirate appear to have been governed by their own notions of what was right. The Bishop, however, exhibits his usual moderation in regard to Dillon's culpability, for, in continuation of his letter, Murray writes:—

He has no notion of Dillon's being himself dipped in those

* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

money matters any other ways than by his unparalleled negligence and want of attention; but as to the story of Lady Lansdowne the Bishop is perfectly sure of it, having had it from two persons to whom she showed the Colonel's letter, and one of them was Dillon himself. Now that letter, he says, could not be sent with any other design than that of being showed, because the Colonel, while he was here, was every day six or eight hours with the Lady, and therefore would have no need to make such proposals in writing. God knows whether, after making the use of them mentioned, she accepted what was offered; but all the appearances since look very strong that way, and particularly the unaccountable attachment her husband has showed, and still shows, to Lord Mar. The Bishop will still endeavour, if it be possible, to break that knot; and provided he has health, and the steps taken from your side continue to be such as he thinks they should be, does not yet despair of doing it.*

As the Bishop's correspondents increased in number his duties became more comprehensive, till he found himself officiating as an entire Cabinet—foreign affairs taking up no small portion of his attention. The dismissal of Dillon caused a temporary embarrassment, it being far from easy to supply his place as a medium of communication with the Duke of Bourbon. At last a successor was found in the Curé of S. Sulpice, for whose character Atterbury entertained a profound respect. There was another difficulty in his dealing with the French Court to be got over—this was the hostility that prevailed between the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans. The pending negotiations with the Courts of Holstein, Russia, and Vienna were much more embarrassing.

In addition to his labours in maintaining friendly relations by letter with "the King's" friends, the Bishop was expected to receive all Jacobites who

* Stuart Papers.

came to Paris. Respecting the latter, Hay wrote to him (November 28) :—

Apropos of the visits you may receive this winter, perhaps the Duke of Berwick and Lord Bolingbroke may be of the number; therefore 'tis fit that you should know that the first writes sometimes letters of compliment to the King, and receives answers, but goes no further. He is more than out of court in France at present, for Mons. le Duc had a great dislike to him: he is reckoned one of a few of the Duke of Orleans' chief advisers, and, by consequence, Mons. le Duc's enemy; though I have heard that it was pretty much his character to prefer his interest to everything else. I believe by this time my Lord Bolingbroke is full as much displeased with the Elector of Hanover as with the King. He has had no dealings with the last this long while; and I remember, when I was last at Paris, I discovered from the triumvirate a vast uneasiness lest I should have any dealings with them two, and I am far mistaken if at present the Duke of Mar be not using his interest to make up with them, though I believe he'll find it a difficult task.*

Lord Mar was indefatigable in striving to undermine the interests of his former master; but he was skilfully countermined by a much abler engineer. The responsibility, the anxiety, and the overwork, however, told on the Bishop's enfeebled constitution. He suffered severely, particularly from attacks of gout in the hand, but the fortitude with which he endured his afflictions excited the admiration of those who saw him. Mr. Murray was obliged to act as his amanuensis. While writing to his brother-in-law (January 23) he assures him, "Most certainly nothing but such a spirit as he has could enable one to support the pains he endures." To this then warm friend he dictated the following :—

* Stuart Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

Paris, January 29, 1725.

Sir,

Though I have recovered some use of my hand, yet by reason of some pains that pursue me still I am not able to write, which adds to the uneasiness I already feel. I sent you word the last post that I thought I saw some possibility, if not probability, of a miscarriage of a late treaty of reconciliation;* that conjecture grows yet more probable from what two several persons have since said to Daniel O'Brien, of which I suppose he gives you an account this post by the enclosed. You'll be pleased to consider whether it may not be proper to write letters of congratulation both to the father and son-in-law† upon this occasion, in which there may be room to say what you shall think proper to add as to your own hopes and dependence.

The Duke of Mar has writ his own "justification," and shows it about privately to persons who know little of the matter, and are easy to be imposed upon. I do not believe he will dare to publish it in any other manner, though I doubt not but these steps of his are directed—or approved at least—by those whose money he has taken, and who have no other way left of rendering him useful to themselves, but by putting him in this posture of self-defence—as he will call it, but, as I think it, of real defiance—in order to keep up the faction as much as is possible, and maintain disunion among your friends. And indeed it is very strange to observe that, though his reputation be utterly sunk in England, the Court of France, and among the bulk of your friends here, yet there is an open and unaccountable adhesion of some few to him, whom the two, whose names I need not mention, take all care to encourage. Give me leave, sir, to take this occasion of expressing myself with a freedom to you which I do not often use.

Your orders sent hither,‡ particularly those sent two posts ago, are not only not obeyed, but trifled with, and will be so still until you are pleased to make those you send them to see that you expect a punctual and immediate compliance. I question not but what you have already said means as much, but it is certainly not so understood—the behaviour upon them shows this

* Between England and Russia. † Czar of Russia and Duke of Holstein.
‡ To General Dillon.

but too plainly; and while this is the case here, and the firm and avowed union of the triumvirate with their few dependants continues, there will be some distraction in your affairs; and the hands you are pleased to employ, weak as they are of themselves, will be still more weakened, and made incapable of doing you even that little service that might be otherways in their power. Submissive expressions, I apprehend, have no meaning, if they are not followed by suitable actions and compliances, which you, sir, and you only, can procure, by letting those see who elude your commands that their conduct is understood. Mr. Dillon tells me at last not only that he has no such letter of notice as you writ about, but that no such was ever written and sent—which I doubt not is a mistake, and springs from his unwillingness to give himself the trouble to look over his papers; and if such little assistances are denied you may judge, sir, what likelihood there is of his communicating lights of greater importance. This is an unwelcome subject to you, sir, I dare say, and I am sure to the writer; but it is necessary once for all to be said. I turn myself now to other matters.

The consequences of M. Le Blanc's* affair seem to me likely to prove, in conjunction with general murmurs of other kinds, considerable. A cloud, if I mistake not, is arising, which, though at present no bigger than a man's hand, may in time overspread the face of the heavens; which, if it happens, the progress of it shall be observed, and when communicated will furnish you with reflections very important to your service, especially if the attempt made on the Czar should miscarry. Should neither of these things happen, yet the death of the Duke of Florence will necessarily turn up a new game, and be attended with circumstances that must be to your advantage. We are told that event is not far off, and, happening in this disconcerted state of things, will be followed by action.

The matter of the Duke of Berwick still hangs, and is pursued but in a cold and diffident way. I stand still, and am prepared for what I expect—further approaches; especially since I have certain accounts that Lord Bolingbroke has been dabbling the same way, as his and the Duke of Berwick's friends some months ago were very busy about me, and gave hints sufficiently

* Prosecuted by the Duke of Bourbon, and supported by the Duke of Orleans; tried by Parliament, and acquitted.

broad of his inclinations that way, though not such as I then thought fit to understand. His further offers will depend upon the success of his negotiations, which I hear he has once more resumed with England; and if his lady, who now manages the affair for him in England, gives him as unpromising accounts as formerly, I expect to hear further from him: and though, sir, I shall be very wary how I take any step towards closing with offers of that kind, yet I am free to own that I wish it were practicable; for, sir, it will ever be my opinion and wish that all who are able may be inclined to serve you, provided it can be done with safety to your honour—which is more to be regarded than any point of mere interest when separated from it. I except but one man* in the world from this general wish, and that only because I think it impossible for him even to play a fair game, or to mean but one thing at once. I wish with all my heart things at last may be so ordered that he may stand single, and those few who adhere to him now see their mistake; which event I will patiently wait for, and do all I can under my present disadvantage to forward.

My illness has forced me for some time to decline all further acquaintance or correspondence, and therefore your letters to M. de Torcy and Sir Patrick Lawless are as yet undelivered; because I found myself not fit either to visit or be visited but with such as would bear with my infirmities. The last of these, notwithstanding his professions of duty, I take to be as determined an adherer to the measures of the three as any of themselves are, and as difficult to be recovered; and have good reason to believe that he was in the secret of the mischievous scheme, and thinks his honour therefore engaged in supporting that and the contrivers of it. His eyes, therefore, will scarce be opened till Dillon's are, which, sir, I must repeat it, is a work reserved for you alone, though something here may be done to facilitate the steps you shall please to take in it. As to the letter to the Curé [of S. Sulpice], thinking myself under less restraints upon a visit from him, I have taken care to have it delivered. It was received, I find, with great pleasure and respect, for he is certainly a worthy honest man: however, as I said, upon trial I expect not much from that quarter.

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* Lord Mar.

It is certain that in England they are one and all satisfied of the Duke of Mar's conduct, and talk accordingly now very freely and openly; but I am grieved to hear that Lord Lansdowne also shares in their censures, and somewhat of that kind is stirring here as well as there; though he has been all along by me and shall be treated with the utmost tenderness. He is, I find, very uneasy at these reports, and inquisitive after the authors of them—not considering that he himself gives the occasion, and that while he acts that part he does at present it is impossible but that reflections of this kind should pursue his conduct, though all your faithful servants here should endeavour to cover him.

I have attentively perused the Duke of Bourbon's letter, and add only to the reflections upon it which Mr. Hay has communicated to me, that his silence upon the supposed event,* though it leaves him at liberty and concludes neither way, yet seems rather to imply a possibility of his falling in with it; and should Cardinal Gualterio therefore come hither, or anybody else attend the Duke of Bourbon who can discourse him with freedom on that article, there is room to resume, and perhaps push that proposal. May not Boyle be instructed to represent to the Duke the King's hopes that if the juncture at present will not suffer the Duke to do anything directly for him, yet at least that he will not so far act against him as to endeavour to draw off others from their designs and determinations to serve him? This, put in softer language, may surely be said without offence, and without hazarding any breach with the person applied to; but of this, sir, you are the best judge. Your directions shall be pursued in our not stirring any further directly in those matters here, but only waiting and preparing the best we can for better opportunities. If there be anything in this long letter said otherways than it should be, you'll be pleased to excuse it on account of the pain and the haste under which it is dictated; for I delayed to the last moment, in hopes of being able to write myself, but found I could not.—I am, sir, &c.,

RAROUR.

This is endorsed by Mr. Hay, "B. Rochester to the King," with the date.† James wrote several letters

* Death of George I.; a false report.

† Stuart Papers.

to facilitate the Bishop's communications with the Court of France, referred to in the preceding despatch to the Duke of Bourbon, to M. de Torcy, the Curé of S. Sulpice, and to Sir Patrick Lawless; but it is evident that the last shared strongly the prejudice with which the Scottish and Irish adventurers regarded the appointment over them of an English prelate. Sir Patrick had written to "the King" insisting that the French Court would have nothing to do with Atterbury, and that he himself being watched by the spies of Walpole, one of whom was then absolutely domiciled with the Bishop to his certain knowledge, he could not venture to visit him. This was true. A continuous report was being transmitted to Horace Walpole of all that went on in the Jacobite Minister's house. Lord Mar endeavoured to embarrass him still further by circulating misrepresentations, tending to irritate against him those on whose cordial assistance be most relied; nevertheless, the undaunted diplomatist pursued his course, and continued his communications.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

February 20, 1725.

Sir,

I have with attention perused the copy of the Bishop of Frejus's letter,* and cannot in the main but judge of it as Mr. Hay appears to have done. There is, however, a bare possibility that it may have been written without any express concert with the Duke of Bourbon, and with a view of insinuating to you that, if such events should happen as left him at liberty to pursue his own sentiments—which can be but upon one supposition—you should have better proofs of his friendship than now he is able to afford you. This may, I say, be the case;

* He had been tutor to Louis XV., and enjoyed the young King's favour.

though it is highly probable that it is not, and that all is transacted by mutual consent. In either case, to be sure, sir, these professions of concealed friendship are to be cultivated and improved—though in no degree depended upon. For the steps here taken are all so manifestly opposite both to your present and future interest, and tend so directly to cut it up by the very roots—being the result of the applications made and the advices given by the English Ministry—that one cannot conceive there is any sincerity in the professions which accompany such steps, and which they would be even ashamed to make did they not hope that you might, at your distance, be unapprised of the measnres they are now secretly, but earnestly, pursuing. In the letters that you have received and will receive ere this arrives, those measures have been so far explained as light can be got into them. And without doubt, sir, you cannot but see that the design is to lull you asleep with fair promises, while they are doing that which, if it takes place, will for ever indispose and unqualify them for performance.

Some reflections upon this state of things naturally offer themselves with regard both to their present conduct towards you, sir, and your future conduct towards them. As to the first, it is plain that they are now more in the dark as to your views and designs than they used to be, and consequently under apprehensions of your taking steps they may not like, and careful to treat you in such a manner as is most likely to prevent them. This accounts for the haste wherewith they have lately answered your letters, and the pains they have taken to persuade you of their good meaning, notwithstanding appearances. It is plain also that what the Bishop of Frejus says in his letters is from the suggestions of the English Ministry, whose notions and very language he manifestly employs; and they therefore are as much in the dark as he and the Duke of Bourbon are, and as solicitous to know in what manner you are working against them.

It appears likewise that whatever common measures England and France are taking, an absolute calm in their judgment is requisite towards rendering them effectual; and that the motions of your friends in particular, at home and abroad, may be prejudical to them, which shows that their scheme has in itself great difficulties, and such as they cannot hope to

master if they are at the same time encumbered with others. These, sir, being their views, you will be pleased to consider whether you are not to open yourself to them as little, and keep them still as much in the dark with regard to your intentions, as is possible, without seeming at the same time absolutely to distrust their sincerity, or to give them any handle to retreat from the assurances given by them. Whether it may not be proper on this account that you should take some time ere you answer the Bishop's letter, and then answer it in such a manner as to show that though the civility of it pleases, yet it does not mislead you. The very delay you shall use in this case will be of some significance, and yet cannot be ill taken; provided it does not seem to have sprung from your compliance with the advice they have given you, of sitting perfectly still—which mistake will be easily prevented by the manner of your writing, and by what the person who is to attend the Bishop of Frejus in the meantime may modestly hint to him with relation to the advices you may have received, and the alarm they may have given you. This I take to be clear, and the less they think they do, the less they will endeavour to deceive you, and will be induced the more easily to act an open and fair part with you; whereas if they apprehend their impositions take place to their wish, they will have no reason nor the least inclination to change this conduct.

England may find its account in a calm, which may give them room to ripen the scheme of moderation that is intended for the destruction of your interest; and France also may reap advantages from it, as their affairs now stand. But surely they should not by any slip on your side be encouraged absolutely to depend upon it; but should rather apprehend, without being directly told so, that you cannot neglect any opportunity of doing yourself justice that may at any time be put into your hands.

After all, sir, I think as they do, or pretend to do, that your present and real interest is to lie still as to any attempt, though not as to the measures and negotiations that may prepare the way for it; but I wish they may think you not to be altogether unprovided in this case, and to have more resources in your view than they are aware of. And really the state of things both in the north and south seems to look so much towards such an

alteration as may be for your advantage, that I doubt not but they themselves who give you fine words see clearer than we can a possibility of something turning up for your service.

For these reasons, sir, I am humbly of opinion that some delay should be used in answering the Bishop of Frejus's letter till you can obtain further lights from hence, which I hope a conference with him may produce; and then that he should be written to in such a manner as to show that you are aware of the sad consequences of the schemes now on the anvil.

I extremely approve that part of your letter where you declare yourself against rash ungrounded attempts, and represent the present quietness of your friends as proceeding from your orders, and withal assure him that they are not lessened in their number or zeal, notwithstanding any present appearances. But I humbly beg that you would not put him upon any inquiries of me in relation to the present state of England, for he is in no condition to relish what I have to offer on that head, which may at another time, when he shall be better disposed, be more successful. This Court is now warm in the pursuit of their negotiations with another, and will hearken to nothing that may retard or divert them. But a time may come and events arise which will render them more tractable.

I have explained to you, sir, my thoughts on these heads as well as my present infirmities will permit. These must excuse any mistakes I may have made in my reasonings, which, though they may proceed from want of health, capacity, or light, yet certainly spring from a very good meaning; for I am, sir, &c.*

Endorsed by Mr. Hay, like the preceding letter.

These statesmanlike suggestions were implicitly followed by James, and fully appreciated by him. In his reply (March 28) he wrote: "Your solid reflections on these matters are most acceptable to me, as all will be that comes from you." Another letter was written to the Bishop of Frejus, and delivered to him by Mr. Murray at Versailles, where the latter had a friendly conversation with that prelate on his master's

* Stuart Papers.

affairs. Nothing appears to have been said about the Bishop of Rochester at this interview, but the influence he was gaining with James had excited the jealousy of Murray, and he had become inclined to quarrel on the slightest provocation. He could not reconcile himself to the idea of a churchman knowing more about State affairs than a soldier of fortune, and was disposed to ridicule notions that differed from those of his own personal experience. The position of the English Bishop, moreover, was that of a superior—which he indeed was, in every way—and this the cadet of the Murray family did not like. According to his own account he conducted himself with petulance to the venerable prelate, and then, with absurd pride, expected to be coaxed back into good humour.

He wrote an exaggerated account to his brother-in-law of what passed between them; but neither that gentleman nor James afforded any encouragement to his egregious self-conceit. He was not satisfied with creating great detriment to the service by opposing and ridiculing the appointed director of his master's affairs in the French capital, but stirred up one of his countrymen, Ferguson, to quarrel with the Bishop also, upon some pretext equally frivolous. The fact is, these hot-headed narrow-minded subordinates were perfectly intractable. They would in all probability have made good soldiers, but as minor negotiators were not to be trusted. Murray is the more to blame, as he wrote to Rome statements of his being "used like a footman," and that the very prudent and sagacious counsellor to whom he was bound to defer,

was amazingly credulous and ignorant. Indeed, he announced his having broken off entirely with the Bishop; but the urgent remonstrances of "the King" and of his brother-in-law led him back to something like rational behaviour. He condescended to act with Atterbury, but with a very ill grace; and to the difficulties with which the Minister's path was beset was now added a resentful assistant, of very moderate capacity, who fancied himself a Richelieu.

Previously to this untoward quarrel, clouds had arisen in the political horizon that darkened the prospects of the little Court at Rome. Pope Innocent XIII. died on the 25th of February, 1724, and Cardinal Orsini was elected his successor on the 18th of the following May, three days after which Robert Harley, Lord Oxford, closed his career. On the 14th of the same month a severe edict against the Huguenots was published in France, which was followed by a cruel persecution. On the 2nd of February, 1725, died James's great hope, Peter the Great of Russia.

A glimmer of light fell on these shadows from Spain, for Philip V., who had retired into a monastery the previous year, resumed the government on the demise of his son Louis I. in August, and the royal monk left the government to the Queen and the Papal Nuncio. Moreover, there appeared a strong probability of a quarrel between the Courts of France and Spain. Louis XV. sent back the Infanta of Spain, to whom he had been betrothed; to which affront retaliation was given by returning the daughter of the late Regent Duke of Orleans, who had been affianced to Don Carlos. This imbroglio was

regarded as of the utmost importance to the cause of "James III.," and the much troubled diplomatist lost no time in endeavouring to turn it to advantage.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

March 26, 1725.

Sir,

The affair of Spain is now come to a crisis. Sir Patrick Lawless went away yesterday morning at five o'clock, and left orders—as he himself said—for Montelione to follow him. I hope that is true, and not another report I have had from no ill hands, that he is to retire only to some place in France, at a good distance from Paris. This is not probable, nor agreeable to the abrupt and peremptory methods taken in other respects; and therefore I mention it only without giving credit to it. The Ministers of Spain, at Cambray, are ordered to withdraw, and, I suppose, actually withdraw, so that assembly is broken up. The Infanta goes away certainly, and soon, though the precise day is not yet adjusted.

The good news from Muscovy continues and increases, though it be yet wrapped up in general assurances, except the intimations given about Norway, and what may be done from thence, of which Daniel O'Brien has, I suppose, informed you. To his and to James Murray's accounts I leave many other particulars, which, taken together, confirm me in the opinion I have entertained that the advantage is to be laid hold of, and no attempt made.

Spain and Muscovy have, it seems, understood one another for some time on this head—from the time, I suppose, that Spain had accounts of the match,* treating in good earnest with England. Their conjunction will now be closer, and may be made effectual, if upon this breach Cardinal Alberoni returns. The opportunity, though, is great, and should be laid hold of with all possible dispatch. All is but little enough to make the several distant parts of such an extended scheme work together and succeed. To prepare matters a little, I have ventured to discourse the person whose Mémoire is enclosed in my letter to Mr. Hay, because that provision will always be of use, whatever be

* Between Louis XV. and one of the granddaughters of George I.

the plan, and he will certainly perform even more than he promises, upon due notice given, and will neglect everything in the world in order to attend the affair entirely. I think it is also proper to discourse General Hamilton before he goes to Holland, which will be in about a week, concerning the arms lying there, that the person in whose hands they are may receive from one upon the spot proper orders for the delivery and disposal of them, when that shall be necessary. In the meantime somewhat is preparing to be delivered to Prince Kurakin in two or three days, as a general groundwork for what shall be resolved on, opening some material views, and giving the proper lights and encouragements. This is all that seems fit or possible to be done in the present dark state of things, till further lights and directions come from yourself, which will scarce, I suppose, be till you hear by Captain Hay* directly from Muscovy; and that can scarce be yet these two months.

The Duke of Mar talks every day of leaving this place, and makes great inquiries after a house in some distant part of France. I wish he were in earnest, and actually gone, for I apprehend ill consequences from his inquisitive temper, and the number of little instruments that still adhere to him. There is one very dark point in the late transactions which, under my many disadvantages for want of health and strength, I can no ways penetrate into—and that is, how far the Duke of Hanover has concerted the measures he and France entered into with the Emperor, and had his underhand consent to them; and yet this, I take it, is necessary to be understood, in order to form a judgment how far the Emperor will favour the resentments of Spain, and consequently not oppose any future enterprise he shall engage in. But of these things, sir, you will be pleased fully to inform yourself, and to impart as much as is necessary for the conduct of others.—I am, sir, &c.†

James was immediately sensible of the importance of the contingency, but wished advantage taken of it in the quarter where there appeared the least prospect of moving with profit. He wrote to the Bishop in reply (April 11):—

* Captain William Hay, then on a mission to Russia. † Stuart Papers.

It is a great misfortune our friends in England are not in any condition of acting by themselves at this time. The nation was never more exasperated nor better disposed, and any motion there would certainly hasten some foreign power to join his assistance for the finishing stroke; but, by all I hear from home, I have not the least hopes that anything can be begun there at this time, considering the little harmony there is among them. Affairs abroad never looked better, and it is highly necessary to hasten as much as possible the execution of favourable intentions, and to put ourselves in a readiness to profit of that event. I see with pleasure your whole thoughts are turned that way, and so are mine, but till I hear further from the North no particular plan can be made. Could you not think of some clever and trusty person to send to the Duke of Ormonde, who could inform him of your sentiments, and give him all necessary lights easier and better than can be done by writing, and be at the same time of some use to him in managing negotiations at that Court, where just and nice matters may probably be transacted in my favour? *

A few days later (April 17) "the King" wrote again on this subject:—

I am very glad you were to send into England, where it is so necessary our friends should be at least prepared for some happy event from abroad, if they cannot prevent it, and hasten it by beginning to act on their own bottom; but of that last I see little appearance, for everybody is not so active as Lord Wharton, who writes often to me, and wants no spur.

Presently he adds:—

I shall write to the Duke of Ormonde, and send him letters for their Catholic Majesties, to see what they can be prevailed on to do at a time they are so exasperated against France, and must look on my restoration by their means to be the surest and quickest method to provide anew for their beloved daughter.†

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* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

The Bishop's Daughter—His Son—His House near Paris—Journeys of Mr. and Mrs. Morice—Investments—Atterbury to his Daughter—Desires his Son-in-law to sell Stock—Mary Morice to her Father—Misconduct of the Bishop's Son—Mrs. Morice at Holland House—Pope's Translation of Homer's "Odyssey"—Atterbury to his Daughter—His Will—Political Disappointment—Affectionate Letter of Mary Morice—Her Neighbour in the Park—She announces another Visit to the Exile—Sends a Present of China—A clumsy Spy—"Gulliver's Travels"—The Bishop's Circle in Paris—He is desired to become Governor to the young Duke of Buckingham.

In Paris Mrs. Morice continued the office of affectionate nurse during her father's frequent periods of bodily torture. The attractions of the French capital could have little charm for her with such a charge; her own health, too, was in a precarious state; but she did not quit the invalid to return to England till his convalescence appeared established.

The Morices repeated their visit to Paris on an alarm of the Bishop's danger—having obtained the necessary permission from the Whig Government. Leave was also given in the same instrument, dated April 11, 1724, to Osborn Atterbury, and his tutor, the Rev. Wm. Le Hunt, to correspond with the Bishop. Mary Morice herself, in a very precarious

state, again nursed her father, and did not quit him till the dangerous symptoms had disappeared.

The Morices returned to London, where the husband made himself extremely useful to the exile, by attending to his monetary affairs, and to family matters, in which he played an equally prudent and dutiful part.

The Bishop's son seemed disposed to add to the afflictions of his parent. Finding there would be no control over him, he associated with dissolute companions, and then without permission quitted the University and led a reprehensible life. Mr. Morice, as will be shown, exerted himself to find him employment out of the country, while he sought to use his father-in-law's spare capital to advantage. There was another member of the family whom he had to look after: this was the Bishop's elder brother, whose conduct proved that he had not forgiven the refusal of the Archdeaconry.

Mrs. Morice obtained another sign-manual, dated May 31, 1725, but could not avail herself of it for several months.

William Morice wrote, April 5, 1725, respecting the house the Bishop had taken in Paris, evidently a large and expensive one, in the suburbs:—

I am much pleased at your taking a house a little distance from the city, believing and being told it will probably be of service to your health. I am ready to answer the bills you shall draw on me for that purpose, on any other occasion you find necessary. The deficiency I told you should be made good I think you may depend upon; and though I hope there will be no occasion of your exceeding your annual income, yet you ought not upon any account to stint yourself in what you find con-

venient for the sake of anybody you can leave behind you. Mrs. Morice presents her duty and thanks for the kind expressions you use towards her under the present circumstances. She is the best of wives and daughters, and knows she has the best of fathers."*

The correspondence of Mr. and Mrs. Morice with Bishop Atterbury was renewed early in the year 1725–6, when the former wrote descriptions of their return journey to the coast. It appears that Mr. Panton, an English resident in Paris, lent for their conveyance a memorial of his former social position, in the shape of a travelling carriage; but from long disuse, and probably from having been kept in a damp place, the harness had become rotten; and though repaired by a French workman before quitting Paris, threatened dissolution on reaching Amiens. However, after several fractures, it held together; while a berlin, also lent the travellers, went to pieces, on a bad road between Montreuil and Boulogne. The journey to Calais was a very trying one to Mrs. Morice, who was incapable of fatigue. On their safe arrival at Calais, January 23, Mr. Morice wrote again. After arranging a plan for the safe interchange of communications, he says:—

You may depend that I shall never hesitate at obeying your orders, and will accordingly dispose, as you direct, of all the bonds, stock, &c., belonging to you as soon as possible after I get home; but I wish you may not have reason afterwards to regret of taking such a step. The fall of the stocks just now is reported to arise from King George's being separated from the convoy in a storm off the Goodwin Sands, and not landing in some days afterwards.†

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 47.

† On returning from one of his frequent trips to Hanover.

As to my brother Atterbury (he adds), your lordship may depend I will do everything in my power towards answering your expectations on that head, and you shall hear from time to time what is done in that affair.

Mrs. Morice, though suffering from a journey of nearly 200 miles, in most inclement weather, over execrable roads, despatched a short note to her father, thanking God for her safe arrival. She wrote:—

We are very glad to see, by your last kind letter, that you are rather better than when we left you. It is what will make me leave this place and venture upon the worst part of the journey more cheerfully.

On reaching her house in Delahay Street she penned a few lines to her father, on $\frac{\text{Jan. 27}}{\text{Feb. 7}}$:—

I own (she acknowledges, after her recent experience) I should not make it my choice to travel again in winter; but surely I have now given a proof that I can bear anything, and therefore you must not think of not letting me come to you again. I begin now to be very uneasy at not receiving any letter from you since we came over; for if we hear nothing of you, our fears will make us imagine the worst. My brother is now with us, and though he was irregular in our absence, we hope, now we are at home, he will behave better.*

The Bishop's replies have not all been preserved, but here is one of this date:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Feb. $\frac{4}{15}$, 1725–6.

Your letter of $\frac{\text{Jan. 27}}{\text{Feb. 7}}$ reached me but yesterday morning, so I could not answer it till to-morrow's post. In the meantime the bearer setting out gives me an opportunity of sending it, by

* The Bishop's son, whose conduct caused his father great anxiety.

which I apprehend it will reach your hands sooner than by the post to-morrow. I have only time to say how glad I am to hear that all is well with you and Mrs. Morice. I thank you for all yours, and her for both her letters, one from Calais and another from Westminster.

My old ail continues much as it was; in other respects I am better than I have been for some years, but am in cruel want of money, and forced to borrow till you supply me. And yet I cannot desire you well to return any till your exchange is thoroughly fixed. If before that I am under a necessity, I will draw upon you. As to the stocks, I can give no other order than what I gave you upon the road. You know I wished ten weeks ago that you would have gone over on purpose, and left Mrs. Morice here, but I saw you were unwilling, and therefore did not press it; and by not leaving a power in somebody's hands, it was impossible to transact that matter but when you were present. Since that thing is as it is, we must make the best of it and do as we can; and my opinion still continues that you should sell on till I am clearly out, though you keep the money in specie, without any ways employing it; for certainly stocks will fall lower yet—how soon or how late nobody can tell—and I desire to be secure of something to maintain me while I live, supposing any worse accident should still happen to them. If afterwards, when they are fallen still lower, there should be hopes of their fixing, and then rising again, it will be time to consider whether I shall afterwards buy when they are low, and venture any money again in that bottom. In the meantime I am still in the same mind *to sell, and as fast as you can.* I shall be a great loser; but better lose that than more. You, indeed, and yours will be the greatest losers; for as to myself, I hope I shall have enough to maintain me. So I can only repeat my directions to sell and be clear of the funds, which I hope may continue at a stay till you part with what belongs to me.

Adieu! God bless you both, and your children! Love and blessing to Mrs. Morice. I am glad to hear her speak of all her fatigues with so much courage; but I shall be tender of putting her again to like hazards. Again, God bless you both! Write to me in some other than the common way; for it is no pleasure to me to hear from you by that common post, any further than it satisfies me you are well. Nor care I that the eyes which

will peep into your letters should be acquainted with our little family affairs. I add no more, but that I am ever most assuredly yours, FR. ROFFEN.*

It might be inferred from the acknowledgment of straitened finances in the above that the Plenipotentiary was not well recompensed by his employer. James, however, was far the worst off of the two, for the Bishop had resources in England. Of these his dutiful agent will now give some account.

March 10th, Mr. Morice writes:—

As to money matters, I have already lent on two land securities the sums of £1,000 and £800. In two or three days more I am to lend, on two other mortgages, the sums of £2,200 and £1,500, and in a week or two after I expect mortgages for £2,000 more. I shall then have invested for you £7,500 upon good landed securities, at £5 per cent., and shall continue to seek after further mortgages both for you and myself. So far I hope I have acted according to your pleasure.†

Sympathizing wealthy friends had sent liberal contributions to the exile before his departure, or arranged to pay him small annuities; to these were added the sums he had been permitted to raise by granting leases, and a bequest from his old friend Dr. Sacheverell, of £500. He was therefore in a position of comparative competence; but it is clear that he wished his resources to be invested for the benefit of his daughter, if she survived him. Of his son and brother, Mr. Morice gives the following account:—

As to my brother Atterbury, I am willing to say little of him at present, more than that he begins his voyage to Barbadoes

* Atterbury Papers. † *Ibid.*

next week. The bearer has seen him often, and can, if he can enter into particulars with you, give you some history of him. He has been no little expense to you since he left Oxford, from whence he came without a rag of clothes or linen fit to be seen upon him, so it was absolutely necessary to clothe him from top to toe, and that costs not a little, especially when added to the farther expense of equipping him for the voyage. I have, by Mr. Tryon's agreement, paid the captain of the ship forty guineas, only for his passage, maintenance, and instruction in the art of navigation, &c. I went to Highgate and consulted my uncle about sending his nephew in the manner he is now going. He approved of it perfectly well, and said he was uneasy till his nephew was settled some way abroad, fearing he would never come to any good at home; and, indeed, all his relations will have reason to rejoice when he is got out of the bad company he constantly herds with here, and which it is out of anybody's power to prevent while he continues in England.

I have been to wait on Lord Bathurst twice. He is still full of respect and kindness towards you, and expresses himself very cordially on that subject. However, I do not think but that my reception was in somewhat a cooler manner than it used to be a year ago, and I have not had any return of my two visits. I believe he will not run absolutely into the Court measures, but keep himself pretty much to himself.

The noble person who used to convey to me, through the hands of the late Bishop of Chester, an annuity of £50 per annum, has kept in the country all the winter, and I am, therefore, at a loss how to apply to him for it. Besides, what is worse, I hear he is in a very ill state of health, and should he happen to die, that benefaction is sunk at once; but I hope for better things. The Buckinghamshire gentleman is the only person for [from?] whom I have yet received anything since I last came home.*

We add other charming specimens of the Bishop's correspondence with his daughter. In the first there is a reference to a distinguished friend, probably the very friendly Duchess of Buckingham, of whose inti-

* Nichols. Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury, V. 67-8.

macy with Mary Morice the reader will presently come upon some interesting traces.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

March 15, April 5, 1726.

My dear Heart,

I must enclose a line to you separately at the same time I write to Mr. Morice. I am concerned to hear of the sickly state of your family, but most that you yourself are out of order, and shall be uneasy till I have better news. *I am glad to find you continue to be more and more welcome where you visit sometimes in a chair.* I wish that friendship may increase for several reasons.

I forgot to tell Mr. Morice that if Thomas comes over and demands payment for the shirts and caps sent me from Brussels, Mr. Morice should pay him for only half-a-dozen shirts and six caps, for I have had no more, nor any account of his sending more to me, whatever be the meaning of it. My she-neighbour wonders she has not heard from you, having, as she says, writ to you, and being very sure the letter was put into your hands. Press Mr. Morice to get as much as he can of the money I lent from the merchant to whom he is referred. Take care of yourself, and let me have a line under your hand to assure me you are got well again. I have told Mr. Morice how it is with me—better much than I ever expected; and I hope it will be better still. There are few reasons now for which life is valuable to me, but one of them, and no slight one, is that I may perhaps by the continuance of it make yours happier hereafter; and that thought itself is some degree of present happiness to me. God bless you and yours. And believe me, &c.*

As the Bishop had accepted an official post, it was imperative that he should maintain it becomingly. The Minister's position in Paris required to be supported by a good income. It is doubtful if he received any salary from James, and his outlay was

* Atterbury Papers. Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 57.

increasing. He therefore wanted what he had invested in the English funds, and again wrote to his son-in-law to sell out. The latter replied, April 20, 1726:—

Your letter I am now answering lets me see your uneasiness about your money affairs, and that you are angry with me for not having—as you then thought—disposed of your stock. I must so far justify myself that had I not followed your directions so closely, your stock had been sold to more advantage. You must not forget that I did not arrive in town till the 20th of January, the very day that the King opened the Parliament with a speech that contributed to make all stocks fall. However, in regard to your positive orders, I hastened—unluckily, indeed—to comply in disposing of that stock as fast as could be conveniently done, and you have not at present above £1,500 left in the public funds. I have not yet disposed of the £500 you have in the South Sea capital stock. I could not, nor can I yet, bring myself to sell at about £105 per cent. what cost you £120. It will be a dead loss of £15 per cent., and surely you may venture that sum, the interest of which will be punctually paid at £6 per cent., till there be a better market to dispose of it.*

He goes on to state that he had been premature in what he had announced respecting the mortgages, as, in consequence of the title not proving satisfactory in one instance, and the arrangements not having been completed in two others, only £1,800, instead of £7,000, had been actually invested. He mentions one or two other probable payments, assures him that his tenants on his Buckinghamshire estate are likely to pay regularly, and informs him that he fears Lord Bathurst "gives into the Court more and more every day. I am not admitted now as I used to be,

* Atterbury Papers. Nichols. Miscellaneous Works, V., 69.

nor have I been favoured with a visit from him since I last came over." *

His wife wrote affectionately:—

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

May $\frac{2}{13}$ 1726.

Dear Papa,

I was infinitely pleased to receive the little separate letter you sent me, and to hear of your being so well. You are in the right to think the continuance of your life will be a comfort to mine. I assure you, dear papa, there is no wish nearer my heart than length of days and health to you: 'tis, indeed, wishing happiness to myself, so that my interest and duty join together in it. I am willing to fancy that this alteration in your health, so little expected, and so much for the better, with the prospect you have of its still growing better, foretells better things for the time to come than have befallen us these last four years. I will flatter myself that you have now taken a new lease of life—I hope a long one—and that Providence will at least so order things that we may spend the remainder of our years not at such a distance, nor under such restrictions as at present. I don't know what there is more for me to desire—at least I have nothing further to wish for at present.

I am, dear papa, your ever dutiful and affectionate daughter,

MARY MORICE.

I am now at the Gravel Pits, not, I thank God, for want of health, but to establish it. The air of this place agrees extremely well with me, and I am really never rightly well in town. †

It is easy to imagine the comfort derived from the perusal of this seasonable communication. Mr. Morice wrote towards the end of the same month a letter of business, when his wife seized the opportunity to write again, evidently touched by the tender response her previous note had elicited.

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* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence of Atterbury.

† Atterbury Papers.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

May 23, 1726.

Dear Papa,

Since you receive my letters with so much kindness I ought certainly to write to you often, for I am never so well pleased myself as when I am doing anything I think may please you, as my writing will do; so I can't let Mr. Morice's letter go away without adding a postscript. He has told you I am well, and I need not tell you how glad I am that you are so. The lady that visited me last year has repeated her visits to me this, and she does on all occasions show her friendship and regard to me. I am, indeed, greatly obliged to her, and I dare say shall be so more and more. Since I resolve to write often to you, you'll accept of a little at a time, as it comes from, dear papa, your ever dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.*

The pleasure these home letters gave the Bishop was lessened by the intelligence that his son had returned to England. Like many an idler of the same age Osborn Atterbury had fancied that he should prefer the naval service, so he was equipped and shipped off with the best wishes of his family; but his voyage proved a short one, and he returned to be a plague to his sister, and no slight annoyance to his brother-in-law. In the meantime the Bishop wrote cheerfully of himself and pleasantly of his pursuits, particularly respecting improvements in his house and garden. In reply to this communication his daughter wrote:—

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

October 16, 1726.

Dear Papa,

I have a complaint against Mr. Morice. He has put me off from writing so soon as I intended to have done, and

* Atterbury Papers.

persuaded me to reserve my letter for a post when you should have none from him, and now I have caught such a cold by being in town good part of last week that 'tis with difficulty I see to write; however, I won't defer it any longer, or delay telling you how pleased I was at the news of your having got so well and so soon rid of the gout.

I am glad to hear that Mons. Adams has made such improvements to the gardens, and such an addition to the house. I hope it will now be perfectly commodious, and as agreeable to you as the description you give of it in your letter is to me. I hope, too, since the gout seems to be so well subdued, that you will be able to take more enjoyment in the garden than your confinement for the time past has admitted of. I promise myself much pleasure in being there with you early next spring; and I trust in God I shall find your state of health to be so good as not to have it lessened on that account.

All my little family is well, and so is my brother. I can't say much as to his goodness; and though I have had his company but a little while, I heartily wish for his sake he was abroad again. Mr. Morice has writ to you about sending him, and wishes for your answer as soon as possible.—I am, &c. *

The Bishop had already far too many troubles on his hands to care to have them largely increased by a son who seemed to exist only to be a discredit to him. Freed from parental control, the young man forgot he had a parent, and, instead of imitating the dutiful conduct of his sister, betrayed a carelessness and indifference to his filial obligations that were even more censurable, under the circumstances, than his profligate habits.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

November 28, 1726.

Dear Papa,

I have delayed a little writing to you that my letter might carry the news of my brother's being safe on board, and

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 64.

I believe gone to India. The ship was to leave Gravesend this day. He has my wishes for a good voyage and a good reformation. He has heartily vexed Mr. Morice and me for these months past, and would have been a continual grief to you had he been near you.

I am glad to hear that your apartment is improved and made convenient for you; mine is full good enough for me, and I am not in the least concerned that the landlord has stopped short in his design. Since you find yourself so well at Paris, pray don't revive your thoughts of going further off. I think you are at too great a distance at present, for were you nearer we might hear of you oftener. As to my undertaking a journey to see you 'twould be much the same thing—for the length of it would never terrify me from venturing upon it. You can remove into no quarter of the world that I won't follow you, and I wish I could add, stay with you. I can answer Mr. Morice would be pleased if it could be brought about; and I don't live without hopes but in time circumstances may suit with our inclinations and render it practicable. I am now at a snug apartment at Holland House, where I daily find the benefit of the good air, and my whole family has not enjoyed so good a long time. Some of our rooms are pretty large, but the walls are thick, and they are really warmer than our little London rooms, and much better winter quarters, though you seem to imagine otherwise. I am sure they agree with me much better, and so I have reason to speak well of them. Mr. Morice is in town, and it being, I hear, the last day of the term, he has more business than ordinary, wherefore I fancy you'll hardly have a letter from him this time. He is very well, and we please ourselves often with the thoughts of our journey to you next spring.—I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, $\frac{\text{Nov. 26,}}{\text{Dec. 7,}}$ 1726.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I am in arrear to you for three letters, of November 3, 10, and 17, the two last of which enclosed bills of one hundred pounds each. As to the first one hundred pounds, I immediately consulted my neighbour, who understands these things; and he

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 66.

made me the return under his hand which I enclose, though undoubtedly you did for the best. Waters* has nothing of Cantilion's in his hands; and therefore Cantilion advancing the money will be paid for it, and Waters must have his commission money beside. That is the reason the number of livres sinks when one draws upon the other. They that are substantial, and have money actually lying here, are most advantageously dealt with, if you knew where to find them. I will employ the last sum as you direct. I have received the ten pounds for the watch, which you must charge to my account. The hat also and the three books (two great and one little) are at last arrived. I think the hat a good one.

I shall be glad to hear that Obby† is sailed: the farther he is from me the less I shall think of him; and consequently the less I shall be grieved. I suppose he has not found time even to write to me before he went. If he has written, it will arrive by this day's post; but I do not expect it, or indeed anything from him that can ever give me the least satisfaction.

The two quartos pleased me much, nor was I easy till I had perused every line of them; but was sorry to find, at the close of the last, that so much of the work was from two other hands, since so much less of it belongs to that which I most value. I shall send you over soon some French books, in exchange, and advertise you of the manner and time of their coming.

I am glad to find you are all so well. I have not had so much health these many years. My blessing and love to my dear girl! from whom I shall be pleased to hear. God bless you, and all yours; and believe me to think of you always with the utmost affection. F. R.‡

The "two quartos," mentioned in the last paragraph but one, referred to the publication of the fourth and fifth volumes of his friend Pope's translation of Homer's "Odyssey," in the preceding June. The Bishop was as ardent a reader as ever, and found time for the perusal of many works of interest, and for

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* An English banker in Paris.

† His son Osborn.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

much literary correspondence. His affection for his "Twickenham friend" caused him to feel no slight amount of disappointment when he discovered how little he contributed to these volumes. Of that distinguished poet, since his exile, Atterbury had heard only what his admirers circulated in Paris; the heavy penalties upon unauthorized communication prevented any correspondence between those cordial friends: a new work, therefore, with the name of Alexander Pope upon the title-page, must have been received with extraordinary gratification.

The next communication portrays the exile in his brightest colours as a Christian prelate, thankful for the blessings he enjoys in improved health, and appreciating, above all, that pre-eminent one, the affection of his correspondent. If he could only have been content with the measureless enjoyment a gracious Providence had left him, his remaining life might have been enviable; but a profound sense of duty would not permit him to turn aside from the thorny path on which he had entered; the interests of too many of his countrymen were involved in his fidelity to the cause for him to abandon it, particularly in its hour of difficulty.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Paris, December $\frac{7}{18}$ 1726.

My dear Heart,

I must own your kind letter of November 28, O.S., as soon as I can after receiving it; because the sooner I answer it, the sooner I hope to receive such another; and I need not tell you how much of the small remains of satisfaction left me consists in hearing from you.

I am glad to hear your new lodgings, at this season of the

year, agree so well with you and your little family. I am surprized at the degree of health I have (and never thought to have) recovered. Of the gout at present I have nothing; but doubtless shall hear of it again at its proper season. God forbid I should not, provided it be by such fits as the last was, which I shall look upon as a remedy, and not a disease. But my other ail (which indeed was what troubled me most) diminishes apace; nor do I despair but that in some time I shall be altogether rid of it. All these effects I attribute to the air of Paris, and particularly of that highest spot of it on which I live. This is not matter of guess, but sense; for I not only find, but plainly feel, the influence of it; and have now another kind of constitution than I had for many years in England before I left it.

You see, my dear, how I entertain you (like an old man) with accounts of myself which to others would be tiresome, but I dare say are acceptable to you; and for that reason I send them. Nothing pleases me more than to hear you are well; my business is to remember you as often, and forget your brother as much, as is possible. I had not a line from him during his stay in England. God has made me amends in your duty and goodness for the want of both in him. Upon the whole, I am contented; and, weighing the happiness on one side against the unhappiness on the other, find no reason to complain. These are the kind mixtures of good and evil, so tempered by a Wise Hand, as that we have no reason either to be weary of life or fond of it. That is my case at present; but I will not enter further into such reflections. God preserve and bless you and yours. I am, my dear Heart, your ever affectionate father,

FRA. ROFFEN.*

The feelings created by the misconduct of his son caused the Bishop to direct his attention to a new testamentary arrangement of his estate; but there is only a proper prudence in the provisions he contemplated, as may be seen in his letter on the subject to his son-in-law. He had already made a will, and it does not appear that he rescinded it, consequently

* Atterbury Papers. Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 73.

no second will was drawn up. The announcement in the first paragraph, of his old friend the Dean of St. Patrick's immortal satire, the reference to his "Twitnam friend," and that to Tickell's poem "On the Death of the Earl of Cadogan," who had closed his gallant career on the 17th of the preceding July, give an additional interest to the letter.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Dec. 24, 1726.
Jan. 4, 1727.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I was glad to hear by yours of Dec. $\frac{7}{18}$ that you were all well. I continue so, notwithstanding the late cold weather. I have heard nothing as yet of the books, rhubarb, &c. I saw by your advertisement that "Gulliver" was a book much out of your way; but could not tell what to make of it. I shall long till it is with me. There are other copies of it here, but I cannot get at them.

I should be glad you would enquire and send me word who was the author of a copy of verses on Lord Cadogan, printed in one of the English newspapers about a fortnight ago. Your Twitnam friend can certainly tell you. There is a particular turn in them that makes me inquisitive after the writer. I hope it is one I do not know, that I may have the satisfaction to think that some new pen is arising that promises to be in any degree like those I do; therefore pray fail not to find out the person.

The person that has gone the long voyage never writ me a line before or after he went on shipboard. God forgive him! Whenever I see you again you must bring over with you what is necessary to make the settlement according to my mind, so that he may have the landed estate either that I now enjoy, or that shall descend to me, settled upon him for life—*i.e.* upon trustees for his use—in such a manner as that it shall not be in his power to spend above the annual income, nor be able to make a jointure without marrying with the express consent either of me while I live, or, after my death, under the hands and seals of some persons to be nominated by me, of which you and your wife shall be two. If he marries with such

consent, then a settlement to be made of the land upon his eldest son, with proper portions assigned to younger children. Remainder, for want of heirs male by such marriage, to Mrs. Morice's eldest son. This is, and ever has been, my intention; and I desire you to assist me towards getting it executed in the strongest manner the laws of England prescribe; and if you want any further instructions on that head, or any of the drafts I have, the bearer at his return, or, if he stays longer on your side, some sure hand that you can entirely trust, will convey to me your desires on that head, and I shall comply with them.

As to the personal estate, I desire you would satisfy me by the bearer, or some other sure hand, how every part of it is at present employed, and in what condition I am as to the whole, and all particulars; for I intend when I see you to make a new will, and settle it on Mrs. Morice and her children; nor shall her brother have a single penny of it. His past behaviour will entirely justify what I shall do in that respect, and I have no doubts about it.

I was willing to make use of this opportunity, because I cared not to expose my little affairs by writing letters by the public post, which I take it for granted are constantly opened. My blessing to dear Mrs. Morice and all of you. I wrote two letters lately to her and to you under the same cover. I continue well, and hope I may still continue so, but that being uncertain, shall not be easy till I have finished this settlement. Sixty-five is coming on the beginning of March next, and, notwithstanding my seeming health, I ought not to dally any longer in a point of such moment. Adieu, &c.*

The Bishop's affection for his daughter increased as he became more sensible of the nothingness of the pursuits in which he had engaged with such characteristic ardour. "'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view" in politics as well as in nature; and the bright prospect of a Protestant Church, with the highest possible Church principles restored to England by the restoration of her legitimate monarch,

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, V., 75.

faded into a political miasma as the feebleness of character and poverty of spirit of this true son of James II. became manifest. He was ashamed to draw back; he contented his disappointed spirit by drawing closer to what was more worthy his admiration.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Holland House, January $\frac{4}{15}$, 1726–7.

Dear Papa,

I wish you many happy new years! If my wish succeeds I shall be happy. You should have heard from me sooner but that I have been, and still am, at a loss what answer to give to the last letter you sent me—a letter so full of tenderness and affection, expressed in a way so peculiar to yourself, that I know not what acknowledgments to make for it. Every line of it has made its due impression upon me; and as they say gratitude pays all debts, I am sure my heart overflows with gratitude to you. I begin the new year with a tender of my duty to you, and please myself with the thoughts of seeing you before it be very far advanced. I hope then to find you in as good a state of health as you tell me you now are; and the oftener I receive such accounts, the oftener I shall be pleased. I am really well beyond expectation, and begin to think there is something in sympathy, since you are so well at Paris and I the same here: the likeliest way for me to continue so is to hear often that you are so. All my little ones, too, are well; but we have lost one relation, for my uncle Atterbury, the lawyer, died last week. Mr. Morice sends you his humble duty and compliments on the new year; and believe me, dear papa, with true affection, your ever dutiful and obedient daughter,

MARY MORICE.*

Nothing in the English language can be found expressing filial devotion with such womanly tenderness. It is greatly to be lamented that the appeal,

* Atterbury Papers. Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV.

to which it was so touching a response, has not been preserved.

The reader must now be content with a letter of business, with one or two literary recommendations. Pope and Swift are seen once more in social communion, the latter still cherishing the memory of his Chelsea host and friend. The widow of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, is also coming forward in a manner very much to her credit. Her grace, living at Buckingham House,* proved a kind neighbour to Mary Morice, at the opposite end of the Park.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, January $\frac{11}{22}$, 1726–7.

My honoured Lord,

The gentleman who takes this to Paris has talked of going thither for some months past, but his affairs have kept him back; and the time now approaches so near when I hope to be with you myself, that I choose not to send by him the accounts I intended he should have carried over some time ago, for they are swelled by this time so much that I am willing to lay them before you myself, when I can best explain to you every article. In the meantime, let it satisfy you that I have (by Michaelmas last) invested in land securities upwards of ten thousand pounds, at five per cent.; and am in expectation of soon finishing some other mortgages I am in treaty about. The residue of your affairs lies part in the funds, and some by me in ready cash, which I believe will soon be well disposed of; and when I come to settle with you, I hope you will say that I have done everything for the best. You must not expect that the interest upon mortgages will ever be paid with the same punctuality it is done on the public funds; however, I hope you will not have much reason to complain on that head, the people to whom I have lent the money having faithfully promised to be good paymasters of the interest; and I hope they will not fail.

* On the site of this mansion now stands the Queen's palace.

Mrs. Morice is pretty well, and was at the opera last Saturday with our neighbour at the other end of the Park, who continues daily instances of friendship and regard for her; and probably we shall not leave England again without a token of it.

I lately sent you "Gulliver's Travels." The reputed author (Dean Swift) made very kind enquiries after you through our Twickenham friend, and was pleased to hear that he had been mentioned by you in some of your letters. He came over hither purely to see his friends and divert himself, and was almost constantly with Mr. Pope. This letter does not go by so secure a conveyance as could be wished, the gentleman who carries it going by way of Dover; I shall therefore omit saying anything further now, and subscribe myself, &c.,

WM. MORICE.

This letter will come to you by way of Dieppe.*

Mary Morice regarded the spring of 1726–7 as one of unwonted verdure; her heart being full of joyful expectation of her reunion with the lonely exile in a foreign land. Early in March she thus announced her coming to him:—

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

March 5, 1726–7.

Dear Papa,

I deferred writing to you for some time, intending to take the opportunity of congratulating you on your birthday; but company came and prevented me. I was in hopes this year would have treated you as favourably as the last, but by a letter from Paris, we find the gout has seized you in your right hand, and given you a good deal of pain; however, as it tells us the fit was almost over, and going off, I am willing to fancy it may be of advantage, and prove a remedy against any further attacks this season. It will greatly add to the pleasure of my journey to think I shall find you in good health; and if you should enjoy it, it will double the satisfaction I shall have in being with you. In a day or two Mr. Morice designs to apply

* Atterbury Papers.

for leave, and we propose setting out the week after Easter. I wish the time was come, for it seems an age to me since I was with you.

All my little family are well, and I keep myself so with the hopes of seeing you soon. Believe me ever, &c.*

Her husband had written on the same day. It is gratifying to find in the opening sentences of the following letter that Pope cherished a lively regard for his absent friend. A little further on the reader will see the fear that kept many of the Bishop's sympathizers from any manifestations of their feelings. The reference to the morrow means the Bishop's birthday, when his son-in-law entertained a circle of the exile's friends.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Holland House, March $\frac{4}{15}$, 1726–7.

My honoured Lord,

The gentleman by whom you sent over your ring delivered that and your letters to me. One of them, containing extracts of a letter of Voltaire, has (I mean the extracts) been shown to our Twickenham friend, who could not but be pleased with them, as he was at the manner of their being sent. He is as much your humble servant as ever, and constantly speaks of you in terms of the greatest friendship and regard. Your other letter, which Mr. Verd—n brought to me, relates chiefly to your estate and family affairs, of which you should have a particular account by this conveyance, but that I shall be with you so soon now myself (for next week I intend to sue out the sign-manual) that it is better to defer it for fear of any accident which may happen to any papers this gentleman may carry with him; as they begin, I hear, to search passengers from hence, and he seems to be but a timorous person to trust anything by; for he was, according to agreement, to have dined with me this day at this place, but sent a letter about dinner-time, excusing himself in regard it might not be very safe for him to be seen at my house. and therefore desiring I would enclose any commands

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 80.

I might have for him according to an address then given. I venture this by him since, if it miscarries, it can do no great hurt.

My letter of the 11th of January last told you in general whereabouts your money affairs stood: by the middle of April you shall have yours in particular from myself. In that letter I told you I fancied a certain neighbour of ours (who continues her civilities to Mrs. Morice) would give some token of her regard before we left England. I guessed right; for I have already received an unusual instance of it, of which you shall hereafter know more.

I take notice of the directions you give for my bringing over a draft of a settlement, so that you may order the landed estate according to your own mind. But, in order to draw up such a settlement, you must send over the lease and release, dated the 20th and 21st days of May, 1723, when the landed estate and fee-farm rent were settled by you here according to your intentions at that time. Without a sight of them (at least of the release) our lawyer cannot draw up the new settlement you propose.

Enclosed I send you the only protest of the Lords this session, as far as it is gone; perhaps there may be more before it is over.

The author of the copy of verses on Lord Cadogan, lately printed in our newspapers, I am assured is Mr. Tickell.

The same person that brought over your diamond ring carries it back to you again. I took due care to show him all manner of civilities, as you ordered; and believe he departed not without a due sense of them.

To-morrow, being the 6th of March, I shall be too much engaged to write by that night's post. Mrs. Morice will find time if she can.—I am, &c.*

The exile was as eager to see his children as they were to meet him; but the scholar had to be gratified as well as the parent; and therefore they were charged to bring with them the last work of interest. Mrs. Morice may have been

Mistress of herself though China fall;

* Atterbury Papers.

it does not follow, however, that she could learn unmoved the fate of her gift to her father. Spies were constantly investigating the Bishop's communications, and no doubt one of them, in prying into the daughter's present to discover treasonable secrets, had broken the china teapot. It will be seen, also, that his health continued to improve.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, $\frac{\text{March 31,}}{\text{April 11,}}$ 1727.

Dear Mr. Morice,

If you have obtained your sign-manual, and hold your resolutions as to the time of your setting out, this may perhaps not find you at Westminster. If it does, pray bring along with you the "Life of Erasmus," lately printed I think at Cambridge. It is not for me, but a friend of mine who has earnestly desired it of me. The editor's name is Knight, the same who lately put out the Life of Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.

Tell Mrs. Morice the chinaware which she sent came at last about a fortnight ago; but, upon opening the box, I found it must have been opened before, for the cover of the teapot was gone; nor were the fragments of it remaining there: so that some curious person, who searched the box, did, in taking out the straw in which it was packed, probably break it. If she has time, before she sets out, she will procure me a new cover, in order to which I enclose a paper which contains the measure of the inward ring of the teapot, into which the cover must go. This trifling commission she will be so good, if she can, to execute. Thank her for her letter of March $\frac{9}{20}$; and tell her that instead of receiving another from her, I live in hopes of soon seeing the writer. To encourage her, she will find me in a better condition of health than I have been these ten years. The fit of the gout was by no ways severe: it fixed in my right hand and weakened it so, that for three weeks I had little or no use of it. But all the symptoms of it now are vanished.

The writings you sent for could not be transmitted by the post, and I have had no other method of conveying them to you; and must, therefore, be contented to discourse you first upon the

head of the settlement of my little fortune before I can do anything further in it, though I shall be very sorry to be forced to defer that matter much longer, notwithstanding the measure of health I at present enjoy.

The diamond ring was delivered safe to me, and the bringer, I found, was pleased with the reception he had met with.

I hope Mr. Ward has paid his £500. I had the first part of "Gulliver's Travels," but not the second; however, it has been lent me here, and I have had the pleasure of reading it. Both parts are now translating here; though the French will neither be able to relish the humour of that piece, nor understand the meaning of it.

God send you and Mrs. Morice a good journey! My blessing and love to her and your little family.—I am, &c.*

Though the travels of Lemuel Gulliver found a translator in Abbé Desfontaines, Swift's humour could not be appreciated by French readers. This might be considered singular, as the genius of the Irish ecclesiastic assimilated very closely to that of a Gallican churchman whose works were extremely popular. Rabelais was a coarser humorist even than the Dean of St. Patrick's, and Pantagruel and his associates broader caricatures than the Lilliputians and the Brobdignagians; but the former were thoroughly French, and the latter as intensely English; so in France the drollery that had been heartily enjoyed on this side the Channel failed to create a smile. Nevertheless, the translation was at first much read.

The Morices obtained their sign-manual, signed by Lord Townshend, on the 27th of April, and endorsed by George Tilson on the 17th of May, to travel with three servants. The little party appear to have met

* Atterbury Papers.

with no particular adventures, and arrived safely in the French capital, to the indescribable gratification of their revered relative. They found him now the centre of a circle of distinguished friends and admirers, both French and English, whom his virtues, his talents, and his misfortunes had gathered around him. By them his daughter was received most cordially, and she remained enjoying the *agrémens* of Parisian life till nearly the middle of November. Her health being still delicate, her father, who lived a new life in her society, would not permit her to risk again the perils of a winter journey, and with his fervent blessing and prayer to meet again next year, she reluctantly left him at Montreuil, November $\frac{4}{15}$. On her landing in England on the 17th, N.S., she forwarded affectionate notes, and on passing through Canterbury, with the same consideration, procured for him a supply of a delicacy for which the ancient city was, and continues, famous. The following was his reply:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Paris, Nov. $\frac{4}{15}$, 1727.

My dear Heart,

I thank you for both your letters, particularly for that from Dover, which quieted all my apprehensions in respect to the inconveniences and hazards of the journey. You had good weather during the whole of it, and a lucky passage over sea; and on these accounts, I know, bore pretty well the uneasiness of your voyage, which, after all, though it was troublesome, did you no harm, as Dr. Thomé assures me, any more than your being a little sea-sick. If you had been not a little, he says, it had been never the worse. I shall be impatient till I know how you find yourself, after you have rested a week, and whether your journey hither has, in point of health, done you any lasting service. The poor lady next door to me, whom you left ill, got well, and relapsed, and it is now doubtful whether she will live or die. I

mean not Mrs. P.,* for she is quite recovered. If you are well yourself, and found your children well, all is well. I am upon my legs again, and begin to crawl again, and hope to hear nothing more of my gout during this winter.

The young Dowager Queen of Spain yesterday retired to the convent of the Carmelite nuns, with two of her women only, and five outlying servants to attend her, and there it is said she intends to remain till the dispute between her and her father-in-law is ended. Lady Mar is extremely out of order, and it is apprehended that her life itself may be in some danger.

This is all the news relating to ladies that I have to send you, except that all your friends, of both sexes, have been with me, and very inquisitive to know how you and Mr. Morice got to the end of your journey. Thank him for all his letters upon the road. I hope he will be so good as to esteem this written equally to both of you.†

A few unimportant paragraphs were added. This met with as affectionate a response. There was an additional reason why Mrs. Morice should communicate to her father without loss of time. Her kind hostess at Holland House, whose interest in her had recently become so warm, was extremely anxious that her son Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, should receive an education worthy of his elevated social position, and she could think of no one so fit to give her advice on the subject as her old friend and counsellor the Bishop of Rochester. The Duchess, therefore, soon afterwards opened her mind to his daughter.

We add one more of these tender records :—

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Holland House, Dec. 21, 1727.

Dear Papa,

The brawn must have been with you some days, and I please myself with the thought of your finding it as good as ever

* Probably Mrs. Panton.

† Atterbury Papers.

was eaten. If this hits your palate we shall know how to supply you for the future; if it is not perfectly to your mind, let us know the fault, and it shall be mended the next time.

I continue almost constantly at this place, not caring for the town, and having little to do there, particularly in the absence of my neighbour in the Park, who is the kindest person imaginable to me, and at present in the country. Here I best follow Dr. Thomé's directions, of which I have still occasion, having some returns of my old ails; and which, as he told me, I must expect till the spring, when I hope to be eased of them, and have so much health as to make amends for many years' want of it. Mr. Morice got very soon rid of his complaints, and is as well as can be.

Having given you this account of our healths, which is the chief end of our writing, I need say little more, but that the oftener I hear of your being well the more I am pleased; and that as I have begun the year—to-day being New Year's Day at Paris—with writing to you, so I intend to write often, and take that work a little out of Mr. Morice's hands. We join in our wishes of many happy years to you, with much health.—I am ever, &c.*

At the close of the year the Morices were obliged to pay £6 15*s.* for a new sign-manual, to correspond with their exiled parent.

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* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV.

CHAPTER V.

THE SWEETS OF OFFICE.

Distinguished Characters in England—The Pretender's new Secretary of State—Malicious Misrepresentations of Murray—State of Affairs in England—James anxious to become a Mediator between France and Spain—Directs Atterbury to communicate with the Bishop of Frejus—Dissatisfaction of the Highlanders—Diplomatic Activity—The Bishop's Despatch to James—Proposed Marriage of Louis XV. and the English Princess Anne—The new Governor of Brussels—Murray's Intractableness—The Bishop's Complaint—Field Marshal Keith—Atterbury threatens to Resign—Insolence of Murray—His Sister the Mistress of James—He is directed to Return to his Duties.

THE exiled prelate did not lose sight of his country. He made himself acquainted with the distinctions at this period being accorded to some of its most celebrated characters—Jack Shepherd being hanged at Tyburn, on the 16th of the preceding November, and Lord Macclesfield impeached for peculation, at the bar of the House of Commons. The charges against the noble appropriator were proved; he was found guilty, and condemned, on the 26th of May, to pay a fine of £30,000. Another worthy, of the same easy way of thinking with respect to property not his own, suffered a heavier penalty. Jonathan Wild was hanged on the 25th of June.

The Bishop's correspondent, Mr. Hay, had recently

been ennobled,* and declared Secretary of State soon after the safe return of his wife to Rome.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

April 16, 1725.

Sir,

I shall be in pain till I hear, as I hope I shall by the next post, that the King's indisposition is over. He and his faithful friends and servants had never more need of firm health and close application than at this critical juncture, when we may reasonably expect events upon which the fate of his cause may turn. I enter into this reflection the more sensibly because I find myself under an incapacity of serving him in the manner I would by reason of the many disadvantages I am under, and particularly the ill health that attends me, for though my gout be over for a time, and I am in other respects better than I have been for some years, yet the stranguary pains continuing upon me are so troublesome, and I may truly say tormenting, that they deprive me often of some of that little time and those few opportunities I have left to serve him. I am not apt to complain or to make the worst of myself in such cases, but it is fit that the King should know the truth of my case, that his expectations may not be disappointed. He has, I thank him, eased me in some respects of a burthen for which I always knew and said I was no ways qualified, by not mentioning me in his letters to the great here as a person he was willing should confer with them upon all his affairs. I hope he will be pleased to continue that conduct, which I think every ways right. He may see by the Bishop of Frejus's last letter that the person employed is welcome to him, and as that person will be able to attend Mons. de Frejus oftentimes without raising the jealousies of the English Minister, so I doubt not but he will in all respects discharge the trust reposed in him on that behalf with prudence and success.† I, for my part, shall be ready on all occasions to assist with the best advice I am able to give on all matters that are laid before me; and while I do so, the less I appear in things the better, at least thus I have always judged and been always willing to practise.

* James played the king in this way occasionally.

† The Hon. James Murray, who was then maligning the writer behind his back.

The mention of that letter, a copy of which Mr. Murray showed me, gives me an occasion to say somewhat about the manner and turn of it. If the King approves what I say, he knows what use to make of it; if he does not approve he will, however, excuse it. That letter seems to be written not only with great civility, but with an air of sincerity too. If that be the case I should hope it may spring from some foresight the Bishop may have that the interests of France with regard to its neighbours are soon likely to vary, and to give room to those who have good dispositions towards the King to prove them by real facts, whereas God knows that has hitherto been far from being the case. The best words in the world have been given, and given manifestly to conceal the measures that were then actually taking in express contradiction to those assurances. That may not be the present case, when the alteration of the scheme of affairs now approaching may, I say, possibly have produced new views and new intentions, out of a just apprehension that others may take that in hand which has been so long neglected by those who were more obliged to it; and therefore, though I shall pass no judgment in this case, yet I shall venture to say that, considering what has passed, there cannot be too great wariness used in the manner of receiving those approaches, so as neither to seem to distrust them nor yet absolutely to rely upon them without a further satisfaction given than what is merely verbal. I need not explain myself further, but choose rather to refer to hints I have given in former letters, from which I do not yet see much cause to vary. Nor would I have gone so far upon so nice an occasion were I not thoroughly satisfied that the honour and interest of the King require that those who deal with him in such matters should find that they cannot impose on him.

I shall proceed now to answer his question; and, not knowing perfectly who are to be understood by the *Attachers* and *Attached* mentioned in it, I shall yet endeavour to answer that part by telling you all I know of the whole. The only person who has talked that language to me is M. de Marches, in the presence and with the consent of Madame Mézières.* He was remarkably

* *Née* Oglethorpe: her daughter was about to be married to Charles de Rohan, Duc de Montauban.

earnest in that thought, and made it the subject of our discourse for half an hour, wherein I could not find that he had any assurances given him in that case, otherwise than from his own reasonings; and those, I own, did not convince me. He may have had other grounds to go upon which he thought not fit to impart; and I cannot but observe that since the diffidence expressed by me on this point he has kept his distance and never repeated his visit, though I tempted him to it by returning his, notwithstanding my ill health and lameness.

That I might be sure of him, I gave Madame Mézières notice of my coming, and he made use of that notice so as to keep out of the way. I entered into it again with her alone, and would have known the grounds of his opinion, but could get nothing further from her than that she thought what he said was the sense of some friend or friends that he corresponded with in England. In the meantime I cannot but observe that both he and she are frequently with the English Minister here, and that there is of late a remarkable acquaintance struck up between the two families, with what views I pretend not to say. I will own to you that both before and since my conversation with De Marches I have considered that point with attention; but though I found much more and stronger probabilities for it than those he mentioned, yet I could never bring myself to a belief of it, and therefore have never troubled the King with my reflections concerning it. However, since, by the question, he puts, he seems not to neglect that thought, I shall tell you what has passed in my mind with relation to it; of which I have said somewhat, and, but a little, to Mr. Murray and Daniel O'Brien, keeping my reserve entirely to everybody else.

It is obvious that, whether by chance or on purpose, the three kingdoms have been lately and eminently disobliged, as well as the several ranks and orders of men in one of them. The attempt about the money in Ireland was pursued much longer and more obstinately than in prudence it ought to have been, and though given up at last, has left some ill blood behind it. So has that of imposing a new tax on Scotland. England has been disobliged by keeping up the additional forces without rhyme or reason, and even several of those among them have been startled at it who complied with it. But what is doing as to the city of London is still more extraordinary, has been

already attended by great heats in that body, and will be followed by greater should it take place. In me the clergy were particularly struck at; in Lord Macclesfield the law; in Lord Cadagon the soldiers. All this, and more that could be added, may have happened by chance, and have proceeded from too great an opinion of their own strength and security; and yet it carries evident marks of another kind of management, which, however, I, for my part, cannot comprehend, knowing as well as I do the characters of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend. And yet, if anything could at last have convinced me of it, it would have been the treaty of a match between France and England, which was carried on for some months in the greatest earnest—though it be now said to be dropped—and was certainly as rash and unpopular a step as could have been taken. However, I conclude nothing from all this, but that, from what motive soever those things may have sprung, the use to be made of them is the same, and must not be neglected.

The copy of the letter to General Dillon sent me is in a style that will work, if anything can. Perhaps he may at last obey, unless he can excuse himself by his being called away to the two on the borders of Spain, as the rumour now runs. The resentments of Spain against France are as high as you can wish, and therefore in a post or two I hope to hear that Cardinal Alberoni is returned.

I have received a second letter from Lord North, but understand as little of it as of the first, only I see by it that I shall now have his confidence entirely. I expect in a little time to hear from England, and should be glad to find things were ripe for carrying on a closer correspondence there. Till that is the case it seems wisdom to me to sit perfectly still. I have from thence the twenty-one articles of the impeachment of the late Chancellor,* but they are not worth transmitting to you. It is pretty plain by them and by the steps taken that his punishment will not be a very severe one.

As to Rotier, nobody, I suppose, talks to him but upon the affair of making a medal, and upon that he may and must be trusted, being the greatest artist of his time. I hope for a favourable answer to the request he has made. I transmitted

* Lord Macclesfield.

your letter immediately to the gentleman in Holland. Nothing can show the nature of Lord Mar more than such a paltry contrivance, which must at last be found out, and could hurt nobody, but the framer. I see not anything else in your letter that requires an answer. The enclosed from Daniel O'Brien will tell you if there be anything new from the north, as I do not hear that there is; and for accounts from hence, especially in relation to Stanislaus' daughter, I refer you to him and Mr. Murray. All Paris speaks one language in that respect at present, and agree that what was so long treated on betwixt England and France is laid aside, the difficulties being found insuperable. England has at least been able, by that offer and the terms insisted on, to divide France and Spain, and play the game by that means into the Emperor's hands; and I doubt not but they have put a due value upon their skill and dexterity in that respect to the Emperor and his Ministers, at the same time that they have here pretended to enter into measures for bringing the Emperor to reason, and have been able for a long time to persuade the Court of France of their sincerity in that respect. Who knows but a due reflection on this conduct may at last awaken them? 'Tis time to put an end to your trouble and mine in reading and writing so long a letter, in which, though you find little of consequence, you will yet find my real and free sentiments in every case where they are desired, or I am otherwise tempted to give them.

No more for the present beyond assurances that I am, &c.

Pardon the blank page in the middle of the letter—I missed it in the haste of writing.*

This is holograph, unsigned, and endorsed by James Edgar, "Bp. of Rochester," with the date.

The French Court had no sooner accomplished their quarrel with Spain than they wanted to make it up by the intervention of the Pope and George I. James was anxious to be employed as a mediator, and Atterbury was desired to open the subject to the Bishop of Frejus, of course with the object of engag-

* Stuart Papers.

ing both Powers to assist him in another enterprise he contemplated attempting in Scotland. Under these circumstances the Bishop again wrote to the Secretary of State:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

April 23, 1725.

Sir,

Before I say anything in answer to yours of April 4, give me leave to express to you the satisfaction I had in perusing the King's letter to the Bishop of Frejus, which I thought everyways suitable to his own dignity and interest, as well as to the true situation of things here. I am justified in that thought by what happened in the conference betwixt Mr. Murray and the Bishop of Frejus, of which you have by this post a large account. Its following immediately upon the delivery and perusal of that letter shows that it had a good effect, since it produced those further marks of friendship and confidence, and those free declarations, which seem to be real, and of which the King would now be informed. I doubt not but the King's proceeding in the same method, and showing that he is well apprised of the true state of things, and no ways disheartened by that thought, will more and more tend to the end, and make some people more in earnest than for some years past they have been. I take leave often to repeat this thought, because I look upon it as a principle to which too much attention cannot be given in every step that shall be taken.

Let me add that the appearances of sincerity in this last dialogue are so strong that there is no room left to suspect them on any other foot than this, that they may possibly spring from a concert between the Duke of Bourbon and the Bishop of Frejus; and even that supposition may be improved to the King's advantage, as to bring about what he aims at, when a fair opportunity offers, as I have great hopes it soon will. In the meantime I congratulate you on this prospect, and despair not of being able in a few posts to render what I now say on this head more intelligible. I have seen what you say of a very significant hint given by Mr. Murray in relation to the Infanta; but beg it may be considered whether that can come by way

of proposal from the King in his present circumstances, and whether, if it does, it can have any—I mean any good—effect.* The King's good offices towards making up the breach is indeed a point of great moment, and may be serviceable to himself in many respects. I wish that plan may go forward, for then he would either have the merit of it if it succeeded, or other kind of advantages if it did not.

That which surprises me most in the discourse of the Bishop of Frejus is the hint given of his knowledge of somewhat doing a-late betwixt Madrid and Muscovy in the King's favour, and his keeping that matter secret—not from the Duke of Bourbon, to be sure—and why from others? unless both wished it success, provided they had no occasion to appear in it. This is the point to be pushed if nothing further can be obtained, and that methinks I foresee will be granted, if the several trains take fire elsewhere. But it is time to come to some points contained in your letter.

As to the two suppositions made, the first is, in my poor opinion, quite out of doors, so that there can be no room for reasoning upon it, and so I have long thought. 'Tis true matters went far in 1715, and people are much better affected both in England and Scotland now; but it is at the same time true that the army in the island is now near double to what it was then, and that the spirits of men are sunk by ill usage and frequent disappointments: and these circumstances overbalance much the advantage of both being better affected; therefore that being the surest and best foundation for an attempt is from abroad. On the last head what you offer I agree to, unless where it depends on your not then knowing some facts which have since reached you, the knowledge of which gives room for pressing the point, that at the same time Norway is invaded, a part should be detached to invade England.† This is the surest way for them and for us, and it will keep England from opposing their designs near home, and will make the blow most likely to succeed with us, by reason of the surprise of it, which, as you observe, is the chief thing to be aimed at; and this, though, must

* James had fancied that the Infanta might, after her rejection, have been content with his son Charles Edward, but the Bishop evidently does not encourage the idea.

† By a Russian force.

be laboured with Muscovy, and has for some time been represented by Daniel O'Brien to Prince Kurakin. A long memorial is drawn, and ready to be put into Prince Kurakin's hands, of which you will have a copy by next post, where the facility of success is represented at large, and a scheme proposed, but as from private hands well acquainted with that matter, and without an immediate authority; so that should it differ in anything from what has been proposed elsewhere, that difference will be of no consequence.

As to what you say of obliging General Dillon by the Duke of Bourbon, I question whether it be right in itself or would succeed. I hope the last letter will without further trouble be complied with. If not, sure Mr. Murray seeing him by the King's orders and letting him know he is acquainted with the last message sent Dillon—which Dillon perhaps thinks nobody knows of—will procure immediate obedience.

I have delivered the kind answer to Sir Nicholas Geraldine, who deserves it, but wish I had any for R——, especially not seeing where the objection lies to what he proposes. As to the proposal from St. Malo, Duncombe can, or will, now do nothing in it. I thought I had sufficiently explained myself on that head before. As to what I said of gentle applications and appliances is related purely to yourself, and the steps you might think it proper on several occasions to take towards softening the aversion of ill-natured and peevish people. But as to the King's compliances in the particulars you mention, they were far from my thoughts—I never dreamt of them.

I have had this day some pains and other interruptions which I could not avoid, and they have hindered me from answering yours as particularly as I should have done, and indeed from laying my thoughts before you in any regular method which might be either to your or my own satisfaction. You must bear with my infirmities, and excuse them on this and many other occasions. The ample and important accounts of facts you will receive by the post from Mr. Murray and Daniel O'Brien will make amends for my failures, and will suggest abundant matter to your thoughts worthy of a most serious reflection.

That this summer and the several favourable coincidences both at home and abroad, may not be lost, is the thing I aim at, and would be glad to contribute to put all things in motion to

that purpose. Since my last the public news tells us of a Bill brought into Parliament for disarming the Highlanders, which I hear is a scheme of the Duke of Argyle's. When you add this to what I have mentioned in my former letter, you will not need any explaining the reason why I take notice of it. I wish I could be of greater significance to the King than I am, but hope the time is coming when it will be of little or no consequence.

I end with what I should have begun with, my thanks to you for your good news of the re-establishment of the King's health. I wish yours to you, sir, and all manner of happiness. You will always find me your very faithful and obedient servant. I wish a favourable notice may be taken of Colonel Rothe's letter. He is, as far as I can judge, a man of great integrity and consequence.*

It was a busy time for diplomatists. Much negotiation was going on in the Court of the Czarina Katherine, in that of the Emperor, and in that of the consort of King Philip; there was also considerable industry in the bureaux of France, England, and Prussia. The Bishops of Rochester and Frejus were not the only ecclesiastics employed in such affairs. In France, the Cardinals de Polignac and Du Bois were engaged in forwarding a policy that did not harmonize with the professions the French Bishop had been permitted to express; but the Talleyrand of that time was Ripperda, whose diplomacy was then in active operation at Madrid and Vienna. The increased responsibility and amount of labour thrown upon Bishop Atterbury at this crisis will be seen in the three letters of the same date that follow. Supposing this strain upon his faculties and his intolerable bodily sufferings affected his temper, due allowance

* Stuart Papers.

should be made; but it must always be borne in mind that the complaints urged against him on this score were by men of the sword impatient of his control, some of them as much opposed to him from religious as from national prejudice. The English prelate not only continued English, but continued Protestant—a most irritating offence to those zealots, who were as inveterately hostile to his country as to his faith.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

April 30, 1725.

Sir,

As soon as I received your orders I sent a message to General Dillon by a friend of his, desiring to know when he would be at home, that I might wait upon him, resolving rather to be carried up two pair of stairs in the hands of servants than miss seeing him myself, if it were possible to get at him. He sent me a civil answer, declined my visit, and said he would come to me. I have waited now two days, but he is not come. If I see him not so as to be able to give you an account of our conference before the post goes away, I will send him your letter, but without accompanying it by anything from myself, because he gave me no manner of answer to the last letter I wrote to him.

As to the letter for the Duke of Bourbon, I beg you, sir, to consider how far that step may be proper, on several accounts, relating to yourself and your present situation, in which methinks I would not have it seen that you want any help—and particularly that help—towards gaining such a point. I am afraid that kind of application will hurt your affairs one way more than it can help them another, should it succeed. I forbear to explain myself further on this article, but am in hopes to reach the end without using such extraordinary means, and will leave nothing unattempted for that purpose. The other letters and orders are all communicated, and I find Lord Tullibardine, in his letter to me, pleased with the concern you had expressed for him.

As to the person to be sent to the Duke of Ormonde, nothing can be more for the service if I can light on one every ways

proper. I have my eye upon James Keith* for this purpose, who is going soon to Spain upon a letter from his brother, if I encourage him so to do; and is a man of sense and honour, and particularly attached to the Duke of Ormonde; and I dare say would not, when in Spain, want the diligence and attention necessary upon so urgent an occasion.

There is another person whom, by the turn of a letter of his which I have casually seen, I judge to be a man fitted for any business of consequence in which your interests may be concerned, I mean the Chevalier now with you,† whose father has told me he will be here in two months, and whose journey may even be quickened if it shall be thought requisite; and you, sir, upon better knowledge, shall pass the same judgment on him that I have done. His post is in Brittany, where his regiment is. I have already asked his father whether I might hope that his son would go to England upon any matter of consequence when it should happen. The good man with pleasure received the proposal, and undertook for his readiness, fidelity, &c., most earnestly. If he be found what I persuade myself he is, I should be glad he were here as soon as his affairs will suffer him, and were directed to me and recommended to my confidence. After discoursing him and entering a little into his character and talents, I hope to find out proper work for him, especially since he has hopes of hearing soon from England, and must in a little time send thither.

I have not touched the five thousand livres yet, nor shall I but for an end worthy of expense. However, since unforeseen occasions may arise, and every moment at this critical juncture is fruitful of new events, I could wish the credit were larger, to answer possible, and perhaps probable, emergencies. There will be no harm in being thus prepared for them, though no use should be made of that credit—as none shall be, unless the occasion absolutely requires it.

I am sorry to say that nothing can be more certain than the judgment you pass, sir, on the disposition of friends in England. They will not stir first, nor till they see a sufficient support from abroad; and unless the present opportunity be seized, they will grow more and more backward, and even lessen in their num-

* Subsequently the famous Field-Marshal.

† The Chevalier Geraldine, a Knight of Malta, son of Sir Nicholas Geraldine.

bers—especially if the scheme of the match with France should take place quietly, without any attempt made at the beginning to hinder the ill consequences of it. Give me leave still, sir, to have that point in my eye, which has never been out of it these four months, notwithstanding the opinion that has universally prevailed to the contrary. Even Cardinal Polignac's declaration does not clear the matter, when we reflect what a part Tessé was led to act in Spain to the very last, and in the sincerity of his heart. Nothing was more of use to cover the secret than the ignorance in which he was kept, and the orders they gave him. And therefore, sir, still I repeat what I have often said, that you would please to compare the good words given you with the designs then actually *sur tapis*, and which one cannot be perfectly sure are even yet laid aside. The new free gift of a million to the Duke of Hanover, and the late assurances given from the other side of the two ladies attending their grandfather abroad, look the other way; and, particularly should the latter intelligence hold good, it is a proof that the first scheme still stands, whatever professions may be made to the contrary.

The news now generally believed is, that the Infanta will be given to the Prince of Brazil. It is very strange that he should venture so soon upon another early engagement, after receiving such a defeat in the first, and therefore I shall suspend my belief in that matter for the present; but if it be so, nothing probably could have induced him to it but a determined resolution of breaking with France, in which case that alliance with Portugal, now on bad terms with France, will be of the utmost use to him. The opinion of Cardinal Gaulterio is certainly wrong in one respect, that there is an understanding in all this bustle between the two Courts, for never was there a resentment more real and hearty—though it may possibly prove right in another, that they may soon be made friends; for no means are neglected by France in order to that end. The two confessors and the whole interest of the Jesuits—as well as that of the Pope and the Duke of Hanover—are endeavoured to be employed in it. The success of those measures seems to depend on the turn the Emperor has taken, or shall take, on the occasion. In the meantime, sir, nothing should be, as you advise, nor shall be, on my part, neglected against you shall hear from the north, or find a conjuncture rise in your favour.

The paper you was to receive from Daniel O'Brien was too long to be put into cypher and transmitted by this post, so he defers it to another. 'Tis already lodged in the hands of Prince Kurakin. Sir, I hope some kind notice will be taken of General Rothe, whose merit, integrity, and firmness deserve it; and that I may have the pleasure of conveying some mark of your goodness to him. It will not, I trust in God, be long before you have an occasion of trying his fidelity and other talents.

Since the writing this I have seen James Keith, and he is determined to be gone in a week. I shall give him ample instructions before he goes, to be communicated only to the Duke of Ormonde and Lord Marischal, whose entire secrecy may be depended on. I will endeavour also to fix a surer way of correspondence with him than by the common post; and I suppose, sir, he and his brother will be allowed on this occasion to make use of the Duke of Ormonde's cypher, and that you will impart your pleasure to the Duke of Ormonde on this article.*

General Dillon, who had an intimate knowledge of the *on dits* in circulation in Paris, had some time before written to the King,—

Many thinking men, and much *au fait*, do believe there is a match in treaty, if not concluded, with the Prince of Hanover's second daughter.† I hope in God the report will prove groundless, though it gains more credit both at Court and in Paris than the former.

That is, Louis' reported union with the Duke of Bourbon's sister. Bishop Atterbury shared the belief in the proposal to the English Princess, for which he

* Stuart Papers.

† Archdeacon Coxe distinctly states that the Princess Anne was the contemplated bride of Louis XV., proposed by Sir Luke Schaub, and supported by Madame de Prié and Madame de la Vielliere at the French Court, Lady Darlington and Lord Carteret at the English Court. The proposition was made in form by the French Ambassador, the Duc de Broglio, to George I., and declined on account of His Majesty's attachment to Protestantism. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Townshend, in an interview with the Ambassador, declined on the same grounds. "Memoirs of Lord Walpole," chap. IX. See Letters of the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole (then Ambassador in Paris), March 12, 1725; and Mr. Walpole to the Duke.

was ridiculed by the intractable Murray. It was adopted for a time on both sides of the Channel, the wisest heads accepting it as a profound stroke of policy; but when the rumour had been sufficiently ventilated, insurmountable obstacles were discovered, and the idea dropped.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

April 30, 1725.

Sir,

I shall tell Rotier what you write as the King's pleasure, though I foresee he will be mortified, having told me he had no other way of getting loose for a time from his business here. He has graved a fine medal for the Prince of Wales,* with which I am pleased. I have heard from Lord Marischal on the subject of Duncombe. He now gives that matter up, having received proper instruction on that head from his brother.† All mouths are full of a match carrying on betwixt the Prince of Austurias and one of the Archduchesses, as you intimate; and should that prove true, England as well as France may feel the consequences of it. I have written to the King about the letter of General Dillon, &c., and what I have done and intend to do in it, and have hopes he will think me in the right on that article.

As to consulting those of England or Ireland about a plan for an attempt in either of these kingdoms, I conceive it is yet too soon. No step of that kind can be taken without infusing an opinion that something is doing, and that will by little and little creep abroad and give an alarm. And as to Ireland, when it shall be proper, I see not who there is here to be consulted, or of what service I can be in it. In the meantime I think the King's hopes and views cannot be too soon imparted to the Duke of Ormonde, and I have waited hitherto for his directions on that head. Now I have received them, the opportunity of executing them by the Spanish post is no longer safe, nor can it be done till a person goes who may be entirely confided in.

Your abstract of the projects proposed to be formally exe-

* "The Young Pretender."

† A proposal to afford naval assistance.

cuted will be of great use, and so will Dillon's papers, I suppose, when we get them; and I do not yet despair of getting them from him without coming to extremes.

The four letters enclosed were delivered soon after they came to my hands. These are all the particulars of your last letter, of April 11, which required anything to be said to them. The most of what I have further to say is contained in the letter to the King.

Lord Mar and his family go this week into the country, with Madam Mézières and hers, who has hired a house seven leagues off, near Fontainebleau, and he is to take another in the neighbourhood. He is putting off his house here in town, for which he pays 4,000 livres per annum, and has hired, by her means, another here for the winter at 1,300 livres. So you see he intends not to quit the spot but for the summer only. The Earl of Abingdon * is said to have left his friends, goes to court, and is to have somewhat done for him. The Earl of Anglesey † and he have probably agreed that point between them. Sir Thomas Hanmer, or Lord Trevor, I suppose, will soon have his old place. I wish it [may] stop there, and that more instances do not follow. I am glad Mr. Dicconson is in possession of the actions, though I find the honest man horribly disturbed about the numeros.

When you return Lord North's letter, let me, if you think fit, have a copy of his cypher, that I may correspond with him in his own way. He is returned from Holland to Brussels, intends to spend the summer at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the winter at Brussels, if he has not work otherwise cut out for him.

I find the Marquis de Prié, who used me so scurvily, is himself used worse by all ranks of people there than I was by those upon whom he had influence.

The new governor receives all Englishmen with open arms, and without inquiring on which side they are; whereas in De Prié's time a mark was set on everybody that was in the King's interest, and particularly on me, and all the persons of rank were particularly told that if they saw me they must not come to Court. I mention this as foreseeing that if the match with

* Montagu, second Earl: he married the widow of General Charles Churchill.

† Arthur Annesley, fifth Earl: he married Mary, natural daughter of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

England should after all take place, I should probably be made uneasy here, and forced to withdraw. If that prove the case, and that Daun's government continues upon the same foot—especially if the Emperor and the King of Spain should join—I may probably return to Brussels, and begin to think that I shall recover health enough to bear that moist air better than I did upon my first coming out of England. But I hope things will take a more advantageous turn, and therefore have taken a lease of the house in which I live for three years more, but upon condition that I stay as long in Paris.

The extraordinary gift of a million, as it occasioned high debates, so it works the same way with the Act for Disarming the Highlanders.—I am always, sir, &c.*

Hitherto Atterbury had taken little notice of the intractableness of some of his subordinates, but the conduct of Murray had become so objectionable that he felt obliged to address his brother-in-law on the subject.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

April 30, 1725.

Sir,

This letter is intended only for your view, and is indeed upon a very nice subject, on which I should not address myself to you were I not under the strongest convictions of my not being blameable. Mr. Murray takes ill of me some words which I spake to him alone, upon a point wherein we differed, and has carried matters to such a height as to put himself upon a foot of not coming to me, though he knows I cannot come to him. This distance, and the consequences of it, will be mischievous to the King's affairs in the highest degree. I protest to you, in the sincerity of my heart, that I intended not the least offence in what I said; and if I understand the meaning of words, he had not the least reason to be offended. However, he it seems thinks otherwise, and insists upon my owning myself in the wrong—which I never will do, because I never can do it honestly and sincerely. I am at a loss to comprehend his meaning; but

* Stuart Papers.

surely there is somewhat at the bottom of this more than appears; were there not, there are one hundred reasons to hinder him from carrying things to such extremities. He has sent me word he will write to the King this post, and desire his dismission. I hope he will not be so unwise as to keep his word. Whatever step he takes, 'tis an office worthy of you to temper the matter, and bring him to reason on his—if not on mine—and on a public account. For such a breach will not only hurt the King's affairs, but render them ridiculous. I forbear to trouble you with particulars, and hope he will not; but believe me in general when I say that I am so little conscious of a fault, that I would, had I a proper occasion, say the same thing to the King himself, bating only the concern and earnestness with which I expressed myself.

Upon the whole, sir, if this matter be laid before you, do as your prudence shall suggest; if it be not, and the thing heals of itself, burn this letter, and suppose nothing said.*

On May 1 and 5 the Bishop addressed two notes to Daniel O'Brien, the first for the most part relating to his carriage and horses, the other directing that a paper not properly cyphered should be kept back. Two days later he wrote to head-quarters.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

Sir, May 7, 1725.

I have not heard from the gentleman who went to England, and I am sure has delivered the message I sent. It was to propose the sending one over hither upon a notice to be given. I shall see soon whether it will be complied with: I chose to send to a person of some weight and experience. Lord Wharton, with all his great talents, has not yet authority enough to set a matter of consequence forward among friends. General Dillon's letter was delivered, and an account also sent him of another designed for Mons. le Duc, and which would be delivered if he did not comply. He has yet returned no manner of

* Stuart Papers.

answer; but Mr. Inese solicited himself also on the same head, and is persuaded that he will still comply.

The paper sent by Prince Kurakin to Muscovy comes to you, sir, by this post. Mr. Keith sets out to-morrow for Spain, fully instructed to discourse the Duke of Ormonde, and to undertake any part there that shall be allotted him. His capacities are very good, and his integrity and honour equal to them. We have agreed upon secret and sure methods of correspondence. Whatever orders you shall please to give him there, I am satisfied will be executed with punctuality and with prudence. I could not have obliged your commands in naming such a person more to my own satisfaction. 'Tis a pity that he has hitherto lain unemployed.*

I shall wait for news from the north and Spain before I say anything further on either of those heads, and add only a reflection upon the disarming of the clans. If no foreign help shall come before that is effected, a noble opportunity will be lost, which perhaps may not ever afterwards be easily recovered. I reckon it will be three or four months before that matter comes to bear, and when it does, they will scarce part with their arms without a struggle, whether they be supported or not. And surely nothing can be of more consequence than that consideration.—I am, &c.

Monday Evening, past 8.

This moment General Dillon is gone from me, promising immediate compliance. He told me in plain terms that the receipt of your letter had disquieted him so much as to throw him into an illness, which had lasted ten days. He is so mortified and grieved at the very thought of your writing to the Duke of Bourbon on that occasion, that I dare say you will be pleased, sir, at the letters not being delivered. In my conscience I believe that it would have cut him to the heart so as that he would scarce have recovered it. He will go to St. Germains this week, and as soon as he has delivered up the papers, will write to you—I suppose the post after next.

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* The Bishop's judgment was exhibited in the selection of agents for the diplomatic or military service of James, and in no instance more prominently than in this: James Keith subsequently proved how worthy he was of the above eulogium.

The other malcontent proved a great deal more difficult to manage. At last his conduct began to create so much inconvenience, that the much harassed Minister determined to give up his employment unless such aspiring spirits could be kept in order; therefore he enclosed the following:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

May 7, 1725.

Sir,

I have been for some time sensible of how little consequence I am to your service on the account of my defects and infirmities, and some particular disadvantages under which I lie. I have still more reason to believe it by Mr. Murray's late conduct towards me, from which it plainly appears what slight thoughts he has of my opinion or assistance in any point committed to his care. I have seen somewhat of this kind growing upon him for about six weeks past, but the late steps he has taken show that he has sought an occasion of withdrawing from me all at once, and is under no apprehension that the service either will or will not be thought to suffer by that means. I say sought it, being very sure that I have not given it him any otherwise than by differing in opinion from him in points of high consequence, and expressing my dissent, with earnestness indeed, but without incivility, whatever representations he may have made to the contrary. I understand he has written on this head by the last post to yourself, as well as to Lord Inverness. I made no secret of what I wrote by the same post, but let Colonel O'Brien peruse the letter twice, that he might report the contents to Murray. He has not been so free on his side in communicating to me what he wrote; but I hope, sir, by your order, I shall obtain a copy of it, as I am willing that he should have copies of everything I write on the subject. In the meantime, sir, your service stands still, as far as I may be of use in it; and that at a very critical juncture, when even the reputation of it, as well as a real union among those who are to carry it on, is of great moment. I know nothing of Murray's present measures, but round about by O'Brien, after they were taken and put into execution; much less have I any light from him to

enable me to pass a sure judgment on the whole. He has sent me indeed two or three letters which he received from Rome, but neither asked my opinion on anything, nor, if he did, do I well know how to give it him. My domestics already observe, that he has kept at a distance now for near a fortnight. From them the town will soon learn it, and form their conjectures. Should O'Brien be ill, as he often is, I should then see nobody that is trusted by you.

This, sir, is the present state of affairs here. I am at a loss what to offer to you upon it, because I cannot well see what will re-establish the confidence that was between Murray and me upon a sure foot; and without it nothing is likely to prosper that goes through our hands. At any other point of time I could easily quiet things by retiring, and leaving him to act in the manner he seems to like best; and even now I shall readily take that step, if it may contribute to your service, the promoting of which is the great object of my thoughts, and the chief end that I aim at. For I am, sir, &c.*

The cause of this difference between the Bishop and Mr. Murray, proves at least the sincerity of the religious convictions Atterbury had avowed at his trial, when one of the gravest accusations brought against him was his support of Popery. He had withstood every temptation since his banishment to become a convert; he was equally averse to his new master connecting himself too closely with the more bigoted of the royal houses of Europe; therefore, when the union of Charles Edward with the rejected daughter of Spain was talked of, it is not difficult to imagine his sentiments.

Mr. Murray, though a professed Protestant, took offence at this, and in the following offensive terms ventures to express his displeasure:—

I find he is also in terror lest the Prince of Wales should

* Stuart Papers.

marry the Infanta, and told Daniel [O'Brien] that some priests had talked to him of this; as if the thing was better or worse for their having thought of it.

In another letter he goes more at length into his objections to his principal, and, with no slight amount of self-conceit and impertinence, acknowledges "it is impossible for me to act with him, and *not contradict him often.*"

Several of the cleverest of the Bishop's contemporaries had pronounced him one of the very ablest men in England; his age, his learning, and his experience ought to have commanded respect; nevertheless this obscure adventurer writes about him in the most contemptuous terms, and dares to proceed with affairs intrusted to Atterbury's management without the slightest reference to him. The insulted Minister appears to have fancied that there was something more than met the eye in the conduct of his fiery colleague, but does not venture to penetrate the mystery. Murray seems to have commenced giving himself these airs very shortly after intelligence had reached him of the favour his sister enjoyed since her return to "Court."

James soon came to the conclusion that the services of such a statesman as Bishop Atterbury could not be dispensed with, and the cadet of the Murrays was much mortified by receiving nothing from Rome but remonstrances and directions to return to his duties without delay.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCOTTISH CLANS.

Atterbury's Letter to Cameron of Lochiel—The Marquis of Seaforth and other Highland Chiefs confer with him—The Government Plan for breaking up the Clans—Proposed Jacobite Demonstration in Scotland—Murray's secret Letter to James—Lord Lansdowne's connection with Lord Mar—Atterbury writes to Rome on this subject—Ferguson—James commends Atterbury—His Warrant conferring Authority on the Bishop—Atterbury's Despatch to James—Lord Seaforth's Intrigues—Mission of Allan Cameron—The Bishop's Report to King James of the Highland business—The Expedition abandoned—Lord Seaforth's Double-dealing—Disarmament of the Highlanders.

THE state of Scotland, and particularly of the Highlands, consequent on the declared intentions of the English Government to disarm the population, attracted the attention of the active Minister of James, and he at once opened a communication with some Scottish Jacobites then residing in the neighbourhood of the French capital.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JOHN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

Sir, Saturday.

There being matters of great consequence on which I should be extremely glad to have your opinion and advice, together with that of some others, I send you my servant to

beg the favour of you to come to Paris if you can, and as soon as you can possibly, there being no time to be lost in the case. If I can see you here to-morrow morning, be pleased, sir, to bring your son along with you, and to desire Sir Hector Maclean that I may have the favour of seeing him also. I would not give you this trouble if I were able myself to wait on you at St. Germains.—I am, sir, &c.*

On the 13th of May, 1725, Cameron, Maclean, and Clanronald had jointly addressed James from Paris, asking to be furnished with assistance to endeavour to save their country from the ruin with which it had been threatened. On the 26th of the same month the Marquis of Seaforth and Clanronald sent a memorial to James on the same subject. On the same date, which is probably that of the Bishop's proposed conference, Sir Hector Maclean and Lochiel delivered to him a memorial, which suggested a simultaneous enterprise in Scotland and in England; that communications be written by James to certain influential Jacobites in Scotland; and recommended the Marquis of Seaforth for the command of the force intended to act in the Highlands.

The Duke of Berwick and Lord Bolingbroke had for some time been anxious to regain the confidence of James, but, dreading the penetration of his chief counsellor, they sought in an underhand manner the assistance of Murray, then affecting independence of his authority and disdain of his judgment. Throwing his superior over, Murray communicated direct to James (April 16) to the following effect:—

* "Private Correspondence of Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and his Friends in 1725." Printed in the year 1768.

It is come to my knowledge—by a person who has not as yet made confidence of it to the Bishop, and requested that I would not—that, in October last, Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick made a proposal to the Duke of Ormonde, which was sent to him, written by them. It was desiring to know whether he would treat with them on your score. They mentioned that he was the only person they would employ to settle matters between you and them, and that if he would hear them on the subject, they would send to him a man of purpose to open to him their minds in regard of that, and how they proposed to serve you, of which he would be at full liberty to judge. The man employed by them enquired anxiously after the answer to this letter, which did not come in ten days so soon as it might have done, and at last, when it did come, he was avoiding this matter, and letting it fall as gently as he could. They required, at the time this message was sent, that the Bishop should know nothing of it, but said that if the thing went on, and was approved by the Duke of Ormonde, they would have no objection to seeing him, and, in particular, that they had not any to any person now in your service.

This I thought fit to inform you of; but, with submission, I don't think that in the present conjuncture it is proper for you to do anything upon it; for, as things now stand, I cannot think you have reason to court them, though I must own that I always will be of opinion that, not only they, but everybody should be heard, after which there is time to consider and opportunity to judge how far they ought to be trusted, or if they ought to be trusted at all. I beg of you, sir, not to write me anything on this subject, for though I gave my promise not to mention it to the Bishop, perhaps he would not be pleased to find that I concealed it from him.*

Of course he would not. He was thoroughly convinced of the insincerity of both the intriguers named by the writer, and, despite of their pretended disinclination to treat with him in the first instance, he ought to have been consulted on the subject without loss of

* Stuart Papers.

time. Mr. Murray had other notions as to the diplomatic service in which he was employed.

Lord Lansdowne, by maintaining his connection with Lord Mar, had excited a suspicion that he had permitted himself to be so mixed up in the latter's intrigues that he could not shake him off. It is evident that he had imbibed his colleague's prejudices against Atterbury, for, in a letter written by him to James (January 15, 1725), in his own justification, he is fierce in his indignation against that prelate, though he does not venture to name him. He wrote apparently from Mar's dictation.

> It is the common trick and policy of knaves, when they have any dark design in hand, to begin by rendering honest men suspected, that they may engross their master to themselves, and have the field open to act their treachery without contradiction or control. I pray God to preserve you, sir, for ever from the snares of such men. The incoherent ridiculous stories of little emissaries employed to whisper about scandal and detraction is worth nobody's minding; such wretches are like flies, vexatious and troublesome, but below indignation. But when, at the Hotel de Bouillon, where all France assembles, I hear myself pronounced a betrayer by a lady so nearly allied to you that her information must be taken for granted, I must be insensible not to take fire, nor can I otherwise conclude but that some chief agent, of the first rate, authorizes the slander; for it is not to be supposed the inferior tale-bearers come there.*

The lady referred to is evidently the King's half-sister, the Bishop's cordial friend, the widow of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, whose meetings with him in the Bois de Boulogne excited many conjectures.

The Minister at Paris renewed his correspondence with Rome.

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* Stuart Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

May 7, 1725.

Sir,

The accounts which last post brought you of the situation of matters here will satisfy you how far I am deprived of other subjects for my letters beside those which yours afford me. I will go through the particulars of your last, dated April 18, and give you my sense of them.

I have already observed upon Cardinal Polignac's declaration what I need not repeat as to a parallel case. The first part of Cardinal Polignac's assertion is notoriously false, and so may, therefore, be the last, as far as depends upon the sincerity of his instructors. However, the general opinion is otherwise; and therefore I submit, though the intimacy and close conjunction between the two Courts is at this day as great as ever, and scarce any good account but that can be given of so strict an union.

I am thankful for the omitting to mention my name in the letter to the Bishop of Frejus, and extremely willing that matters of that kind should go on in the channel wherein they now are —which will please everybody best. What is fit to be known by me of these matters will, I suppose, some way or other, be communicated. I wish it may be found that the civilities you mention continue and increase when they will signify anything, and be followed by real performances. At present you know, sir, my real opinion of them, and the principle from whence they spring.

Lord Mar's complaining of me to you, sir, and particularly in the point of secrecy, is a farce. Doubtless he is under great concern lest Horace Walpole [sen.] should come to the knowledge of things, having been always himself so reserved and shy towards the Duke of Hanover's Ministers. His denial of the vindication is a singular instance of his veracity. I know two persons of great quality who have seen and read it. The true way of dealing with him is to show that one does not believe him, and is not afraid of him. What could tempt him to write such a familiar epistle to you, sir, at this juncture? I am not displeased to find that he makes me, and me only, his mark. That is a better proof of what he really thinks of me than what he says.

Rothe has his letter. Rotier is better contented and pleased

with his answer than I apprehended he would be. I believe, however, he intends not to move your way till autumn, and will then bring his son with him, and leave him at Rome with some master there eminent for designing. The youth has a great genius that way, and the father's journey is only on his account, and from a motive of loyalty.

As to the letter I am to expect from the Marquis of Seaforth next post, give me leave, sir, to say something on that head before I receive it. He knows I believe—because I do—that his kinsman was put upon the list of the pensions soon after the Queen Mother's death,* together with several others who had no pension before, as he had, and yet enjoyed the benefit of that new list; particularly young Gordon, of Boulogne, Captain Ereskin [Erskine?], at Lord Mar's request, and Clephane's nephew, Lyon. These particulars are, I reckon, known to the Marquis. However, I find he is extremely earnest in the matter, and thinks his honour touched in it. Perhaps at this article of time, when our eyes are intent on what will happen to the clans, a person of the Marquis of Seaforth's figure and importance should not be disobliged, as I find he certainly will be if his application to the King does not succeed.† But I wait for the letter which is to arrive next post. Clanronald is ill of a consumption, and given over. I enclosed to you some time ago three letters to Mr. Foster, Mr. Barkly, and Father Williams. You have not mentioned them in yours to me, though I hope they arrived safe, and that you were so good as to direct the delivery of them. The enclosed was sent me from Holland.—I am, sir, &c.

It will be seen how much more charitably the Bishop thought of Lord Lansdowne than his lordship had ventured to express his opinion of him: in truth, nothing is more characteristic of this amiable prelate than the forbearing spirit with which he invariably treats those whose hostility gave him the most trouble.

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* Mary of Modena.

† William Mackenzie, fifth Earl. He had been concerned in the rising of 1715, and been attainted. James had created him a marquis, but he wanted money more than dignity, and was exceedingly pressing for such assistance.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

May 14, 1725.

Sir,

I shall do as directed with regard to Lord Seaforth as soon as I can go to him at Meudon, for it is not to be done otherwise. I could wish a more proper hand than mine had been pitched upon for such a service; or, if not, that at least proper instructions to discourse him had been sent. For though I know what to say to him in general, yet as to particular facts and lights that might be made use of in the case I am at a loss, as you may imagine, and have nobody from whom I can seek information. After a letter in such a style from that lord to the King, I cannot expect to be very gently treated by him when I come upon so unwelcome an errand. However, I will do my part.

Lord Lansdowne's paragraph would have surprised me indeed did I not consider under whose crafty and malicious influence he is, and had I not received of late some letters from him by which he seems to have entertained thoughts and resolutions that I scarce believed his breast could ever have harboured. I say seems, for I do not think he will or can execute them, on many accounts; and am of opinion he sent them to me on purpose that I should transmit them farther, for which reason I did not, and do not impart them. Were he and the Duke of Mar separated I flatter myself I should dislodge these thoughts and bring him to reason; but, as things stand now, I almost despair of seeing him, and, till I do, think it will be better to say nothing of what has been written to me.

Nothing more need be said of Lord Bolingbroke after I have sent you the copy of his petition, and you have observed from it in what a mean state of mind he is, and how low he has stooped to gain a very little point, not worth his while under any other view than that of its being some time or other an inlet to greater*—in which, however, he may be, and I hope will be, deceived; and then I suppose we shall hear of him again—if by that time there be any need of him. I have read to Daniel

* Lord Bolingbroke had expected to be restored to all his privileges as a peer, but had been greatly mortified at finding that he had been shut out of the House of Lords.

O'Brien what you wrote about the northern Ministers. He hopes there is no occasion for mistrust. You may have perceived some hints in my letters which showed I did not perfectly relish Prince Kurakin after two conversations I had with him, and I have therefore been very backward towards putting anything of consequence into his hands, especially till we had further and clearer assurances from the north. But others did not think so, and I yielded. I hope we shall find no inconvenience from what has been done. The accounts come slow from that quarter, but what comes is—as you see from what Daniel O'Brien writes—hitherto all of a piece. It were well if matters cleared up further and faster, that the opportunity of all these seasonable coincidences which I have mentioned, and which we have still reason to expect, may not be lost. I am told the treaty signed on the 30th was only, or chiefly, an acknowledgment of the King of Spain, though the world talks loudly of other things included in it. However, the leading article will and must be soon followed by others of moment. I see not as yet the least ground for the rumour given out that the resentment of Spain abates, and I think we may be certain it will not if that Court and the Court of Vienna unite strictly, and as certain that it will if they do not. I have said too much already on the match to add a word more till the event clears things.

General Hamilton had all the cautions in the world infused into him, and gave the most solemn assurances of secrecy, and I verily believe will stick to them. I have a letter from him, the chief article of which is an account of Walkingshaw's being taken up, and dismissed together with the rest of the ship's crew, which I have not time to extract, and suppose you will have otherwise an account of this matter. I have heard also from England. One will be sent over as soon as matters are a little prepared, and I have no doubt of being able to communicate and receive the lights necessary when they shall become so.

Father Williams gives me no account of the Council, but in two printed papers, containing the business of two congregations—by which I perceive, as you hint, how it is likely to end. I am glad the King and Queen are out of the way while that company is at Rome, and those affairs are transacting; and hope such journeys may soon cover another of more significance. I

sent Mr. Ferguson your letter, though his to you—which I suppose you answered—must have come to you through other hands, and I am wholly a stranger to the contents of it.*

Ferguson had been engaged to assist Bishop Atterbury, but, as he chose to join Murray in a cabal against his employer, he had been discharged. This man was a *protégé* as well as a countryman; and Murray wrote to Rome a distorted account of the Bishop's conduct, representing that Ferguson had "been used like a dogue by him." He recommended that his debts should be liquidated, and an allowance given, or his expenses paid to Scotland. There is evident collusion between these worthies.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Sir, Paris, June 4, 1725.

The letters of May 7—which came not by the post, but by some other way to Waters—have reached me so late that I cannot answer them, as I should do, by this post, and have little to add of my own to what went by the courier on Tuesday last. Only it is fit the King should know, without loss of time, that Lord Seaforth is in better temper, and begins to excuse his late backwardness, and, I believe, to be a little ashamed of it, so as to wish he had sent as particular and full account of things as were desired of him. This will make everything go easy here with the rest of the clans, and gives me ground to think that he has had some intelligence from home that the alarm there is not so great as was apprehended, and that they will be able to make a good stand against what is intended. I have time only to own my mistake about the million. So much has been borrowed this year upon the fund allotted, that the present to the Duke of Hanover was only of half that sum.† I return the

* Stuart Papers.

† Two companies, called "The Royal Exchange," and "London Assurance," were started in England, under Government auspices, with the object of lessening the public debt, which a profligate expenditure had enormously increased. They proposed to give £300,000 each for the King's use, but paid a moiety only.

letter, as the King directs. I cannot decline transmitting letters which other persons send me, but no ways interest myself in the contents of them. Be pleased to let your servant deliver those to Mr. Radcliffe and Sir David Nairn.*

One of the enclosures was a note from Charles Radcliffe, announcing that by his Majesty's obliging letter, and by constancy and love, the writer had obtained "my dear Countess of Newburgh;" then, somewhat precipitately, begged that James and Clementina would be sponsors "to whatever God Almighty will please to send us."

On the 13th of June James wrote to the four chiefs, encouraging their enterprise. He added:—

I remark with pleasure the Bishop of Rochester's forwardness to execute all my orders to this end with the utmost vigour, and as time doth not allow me to particularise them here, I shall refer you to him as to all particulars, not doubting of your exact compliance, and of your exerting on this occasion that ardent zeal for the good cause and the welfare of your country which you have already shown in so loyal a manner.

That "exact compliance," however, was exactly what these Scottish chiefs could not be brought to exhibit. The impecuniosity of Lord Seaforth, his pride and arrogance, prevented the combination that might have produced the desired result.

There were much more important subjects to consider than Mr. Murray's exaggerated sense of his own merit. Ripperda, the successor to Alberoni, was bringing to a successful termination the Treaty of Vienna, in which there were secret provisions agreed to between the Emperor and the King of

* Stuart Papers.

Spain, favouring the claims of "James III." Moreover, there was a negotiation in progress for a rising in Scotland in his favour. It was therefore of the first importance that James's principal Minister possessed authority that should be respected by the Murrays, Fergusons, O'Briens, and the like. He therefore forwarded the following Warrant:—

"JAMES III." TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Albano, June 15, 1725.

Having taken into my serious consideration the great prejudice my affairs suffer by my being at so great a distance from my faithful subjects, both at home and abroad, and how impossible it is for me in my present situation to give such early orders and directions upon every emergency that may occur as the good of my service may require, and especially in relation to the present intended expedition into Scotland. To remedy this, as far as in me lies, and having the greatest trust and confidence in your fidelity and capacity, and considering, moreover, how entirely you have been entrusted by us for some time past with the secret of my affairs and negotiations, I do hereby empower and authorize you to give such orders and directions to all my subjects now residing in France relating to the present situation of my affairs, and especially to the intended expedition into Scotland, as you shall think necessary and most conducive to the good of my service; having always due regard to such orders as our present distance may allow us to give.

And I hereby declare that all such orders and directions given by you to any of my foresaid subjects shall be as good and valid as [if] given directly by myself. And I require my said subjects to look on them as such, and to give all due obedience to them accordingly; declaring, moreover, that this present power and authority given to you shall continue in force for six months from the date hereof, unless recalled by me by a writ under my hand.

(Signed) JAMES R.*

* Stuart Papers.

This has been endorsed by Bishop Atterbury, "Power to treat and act for six months, from June 15, 1725."

Such authority ought to have sufficed for the malcontents. Murray succumbed to it so far as to renew his relations with the Bishop; but the feeling with which he did so may be imagined from a passage in a letter to his brother-in-law, in which, after insisting that "certain decencys" shall be observed by his superior, he adds, with characteristic effrontery, "Since I am not [to be] *troubled with his speculations*, I am not under any necessity of contradicting him in them."

It was not to be expected that such a disposition could endure a superior. Imagine a Foreign Secretary in these days having a subordinate forced upon him who felt satisfied that contradiction was a necessary element in the service he was engaged to render! Mr. Murray insisted on undervaluing his principal, in spite of the Royal Warrant.

In a despatch addressed by James (May 29) to Lord Seaforth, Sir Hector Maclean, Lochiel, and the Captain of Clanronald, he writes:—

> The Bishop of Rochester hath my directions to discourse with you fully on the contents of this letter, and to him I shall refer you for any other directions it may be requisite should be given you.

The fiery Highlanders took in dudgeon their being turned over to the management of a southron bishop, and were not long before some of the leaders began to hector that much suffering negotiator, who insisted on doing his duty to the cause he had

undertaken, without troubling himself about their impatience. Lord Seaforth was in an ill humour because his pecuniary requests had not been complied with, and did his best to mar the enterprise.

The Bishop's kindly nature is seen to great advantage in his remarks upon his intractable subordinates, in the next communication to the Secretary of State:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

I imparted what you wrote to me in your last about Lord Seaforth's smaller request in your very words, and found by him that he had received the same accounts some time before from Mr. Dicconson. I thank you for Lord North's and Lord Marischal's cyphers, which I will immediately make use of. I have seen two or three letters written to Mr. Murray from your parts during these seven weeks past. I hope for the future we shall live in a stricter conjunction. Assure yourself if we do not it shall be none of my fault. Pray persuade him not to magnify little differences, or make them the subjects of solemn complaints: if that be the case, there will be no ease or confidence between us. We are old friends, and mean the same thing, and cannot well interfere with each other in our views on any point. If I err in an expression, or even in an opinion, my age, infirmities, and sufferings may be allowed to plead my excuse, and to cover it in silence. But enough, and too much of this matter.

I had the story of Walkingshaw's seizure and dismission from Holland, and from a sure hand. There was such a smutty circumstance in it that I could not persuade myself to relate it to you; but I made a shift to tell Daniel O'Brien; and if he has not sent it to you, pray demand it of him: there is something very singular and entertaining in the account.

It is as you say in your letter of April 18. I mistook in thinking the Duke of Mar had written to you, for want of due attention. Sir Harry Goring passed through Paris to St. Germains, but I saw him not, and perhaps may not see him. If I did I should not consult with him, though in the day of action he may be of use. He talks of soon returning to England.

If the whispered news I have mentioned at the end of the

fourth page* prove true, then will be the time to try France with the proposal which has been so often declined, but which may at last be hearkened to, when it shall appear that England has led them into this snare, and can only upon a restoration lead them out of it. I will watch this affair, and discourse Mr. Murray upon it.—I am, sir, &c.†

The conflicting interests of the principal Courts of Europe were never more obvious than in the summer and autumn of this year; and this was presently made apparent by the formation of two antagonistic confederacies. With the one opposed to Great Britain and her allies the claims of "James III." to the succession were regarded as a weapon of offence that might be usefully employed. The Bishop was prepared for all contingencies, and did his best to prepare "the King" for them.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

Monday, June 25, 1725.

Sir,

Upon the receipt of yours of June the 6th, I was of opinion that two of the four letters enclosed—those to the King of France‡—should be delivered immediately to the Bishop of Frejus, rather than to the Duke of Bourbon, because there is a freer access to the former than to the latter, and consequently there would be hopes of gaining greater light from him in discourse than from the other. Accordingly, Mr. Murray went to him on Saturday, and found opportunities of saying to him and hearing from him, a good deal relating to the general state of your affairs. I leave the relation of particulars to the letter you will receive from him this post, and only add the observations I made when he reported the whole to me.

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* Of this letter the first sheet is missing, therefore the whispered news is not in the text.

† Stuart Papers.

‡ Apparently congratulations from James and Clementina to Louis XV. on his marriage.

I. It is now put beyond all doubt that you have nothing to expect from hence while the strict friendship between England and France continues; and continue it will till matters are made up between Spain and France, of which there is not as yet you find, sir, any probability; nor will it happen till the Emperor, whose influence governs all in Spain, has served his ends on France, whatever they are, by this alliance. It is confessed by France that England is now its only ally, and consequently the alliance between them must be now stricter than ever; and therefore there is nothing now to be managed with France beyond your private concerns, which you have ordered to be solicited here, which may probably then rather succeed, because no application of a more important kind will.

II. It appears from the questions asked, that there is a great jealousy of application elsewhere, a proof to me that such applications are natural and reasonable, and that you are wanting to yourself, sir, if you do not make them, provided you have the least encouragement so to do; and all steps of that kind which relate even to Spain must now be transacted at Vienna, which includes all; and therefore the presence of the Duke of Wharton there will be very seasonable. I hope he is come to Paris, having just received a message from an unknown person just arrived. If it be he, I shall know before the sealing of this letter, and will not fail to give him as full and wary instructions as I can, and press his journey. This application to Vienna is now the more seasonable because,—

III. 'Tis plain, at least, that the Emperor and the Duke of Hanover are two, and heartily angry with each other—an event which I could scarce hope to see happen so soon, and to have so good proof of. I know very well that the Emperor will be the judge of his own interest, and act accordingly; but he may be disposed to see it, and lay hold of it by proper and early applications, which you, sir, know best how to manage. It appears—

IV. That a war in the north not only is, but is here thought to be unavoidable, and very prejudicial to the affairs of the two new allies, particularly those of the Duke of Hanover in the north; and therefore the opportunity favours any proposals of distressing him elsewhere, and will be the more readily listened to; for which reason also I could wish that your resolution

still may be to support the clans, because their making a stand will be an encouragement to others to make an attempt in your favour; and their laying down their arms will have a contrary effect. It deserves also observation—

V. What care is taken even here to inquire into all the steps you take, and to have notice from the most distant parts of your messengers, for they knew before you did of Captain Hay's being at Petersburg. The reflection arising from hence is the same with that suggested, No. IV., and moreover shows that unless the stroke be struck from Norway it may probably be disappointed, inasmuch as it will certainly be suspected, if not actually discovered.

It is needless to add more. What I have said will suggest what might be added on these heads, if you shall judge such reflections as these of any moment, or worth improving. I could not see how the two letters to the Queen of France might properly be delivered here, and therefore have rather thought of sending them by King Stanislaus's Minister.

Of General Dillon's compliance you have in part an account, and I hope will receive a fuller in due time as to the other papers he was ordered to deliver—I mean cyphers, powers, or printed papers, and forms, &c., he may have in his custody. If he sends word of what is done, you may perhaps, sir, think it proper to let him know in return what is further expected.

I have considered all the particulars mentioned in your letter, and obeyed all your commands, as far as my sad state of health, and the recluse solitary life I am obliged to lead, have enabled me to do it. Had I more light into things, and more opportunities of gaining it, I might perhaps be somewhat more useful. As the case is with me, I do my best; and what is wanting in abilities, endeavour to make by my prayers for your prosperity and happiness.—I am sir, &c.

I add the words of a letter I lately received from the Duke of Ormonde: "Yesterday I received yours of the 9th, by our friend, in whom I shall have all the confidence that you desire, and that he deserves. You could not have pitched on any person more agreeable to me, for I am very well acquainted with his merit." *

* Stuart Papers.

The mutual friend was James Keith, the future field marshal and esteemed companion in arms of Frederick the Great.

On the 2nd of July Sir Hector Maclean and Lochiel again addressed James, informing him that Lord Seaforth had sent for them, and read them a letter from his Majesty, which he had received through the Bishop of Rochester, "and wherein we were mighty glad to find that your Majesty had generously offered us all the assistance we could reasonably have expected." They add that they were then greatly mortified by hearing the Marquis assert that it was too late for anything to be done, and that, consequently, he had forwarded directions to his people to submit. They express their concurrence with this opinion, but are ready to obey orders to the contrary from the King. On the 18th "the King" wrote a kind reply to Lochiel and Sir Hector, which the Bishop forwarded with a note to the latter.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO SIR HECTOR MACLEAN.

Saturday Afternoon.

Sir,

I received the enclosed by the last Italian post, with directions to convey it to you, and at the same time to say to you and to Lochiel, in the King's name, "all that is kind on your becoming behaviour on this occasion." These are the very words of the letter. I can add none that are more significant, and therefore take my leave, with assurances of my being, sir, &c.—FRA. ROFFEN.

Lord Inverness wrote to Lochiel (July 25): "I can assure you the Bishop of Rochester did justice to your zeal, in representing fully to his Majesty the

honourable part you and your son and Sir Hector Maclean acted on this late occasion.*

Allan Cameron was sent from Rome by James to Scotland, to take Paris in his way, that he might receive there the final instructions of his Minister, to whom his Secretary of State wrote (June 16):—

The King has thought fit to send Mr. Cameron to you with a view of your sending him immediately to Scotland, believing it necessary that one of the country should go immediately from himself to give the Highlanders assurance of the King's readiness to assist them; and you'll find here enclosed a public letter —which he is to show on his going over—and his instructions, to which you'll add what may be convenient, according to the circumstances of the time when he arrives with you, or when you think fit to send him forward. And you'll find him ready to follow your directions in every particular.†

To show how completely the management of the enterprise was left to the Bishop, Lord Inverness added:—

The King leaves it to the Bishop of Rochester to name the Commander-in-Chief. If the appearance bear only the acting a defensive part against the Government, I am persuaded that few that are fit for it will care to accept of it. And here I must, though much against my inclination, inform you that General Hamilton, though I am persuaded very capable for such a charge, in the year 1715 (by whose means I cannot tell) incurred the universal hatred of most of the Highlanders, and to such a degree that it was thought necessary to send him with a message into France, which certainly otherwise one of his character would not have been charged with. How far this may be worn off I cannot pretend to judge; but it is fit and necessary for the good of the service that the Bishop be informed of this.‡

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* The Private Correspondence of Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and his Friends in 1725. Never before published. Printed in the year 1768. 4to. pp. 10.

† Stuart Papers. ‡ *Ibid.*

Another letter from the Secretary of State to the Minister at Paris, of the same date, states,—

You have here three letters for Lord North, General Hamilton, and General Rothe, and the King leaves it to your prudence to make what use of them you think fit. You will see that that for the last is written in the supposition of his going as general, since he cannot go in any other form.

These documents were, in fact, commissions for the command of the expedition, and the selection was left entirely to the Bishop; but the project was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the irritability, as much as by the precipitancy, of Lord Seaforth, as soon as he discovered that his pride was not to be gratified with the chief command.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

July 2, 1725.

Sir,

The persons sent and the papers came all safe and in due time. The next meeting after the receipt of them I saw the Marquis of Seaforth, and delivered the letter directed to him and the two others. He then told me that he had above ten days sent word to the Highlands, through England, that they should submit, and that it was your opinion that they should do so; that he had assurances from England that if the clans did not resist they should have good terms, and that the Government would go no further than barely to disarm them; that he had lately received a message back from England to this purpose, and was withal certainly informed that forces were all at that time actually at Inverness, and that no help could come time enough to prevent the blow. When I asked him how he came to send such a message, he told me he had notice of your opinion by a letter from Rome, which arrived here Friday was fortnight, June 15, and by which it appeared that you were then of that opinion;* that you referred

* This was true, but James changed his mind in the expectation of receiving assistance from Russia. Lord Seaforth had no authority to give the orders he did.

to this letter in your last to the clans, and that he wondered how the former came not to be delivered to them. I told him I wondered more at his sending such a message without any authority from yourself but that of a private news-letter only, from one friend at Rome to another at St. Germains—for I found it was by that means he had got the intelligence—and that he should do this without the privity of any one, even of those from whom he had happened to gain light, and who were equally concerned with him in the affair, and without sending to me to know whether any such letter had indeed been written. He justified his acting upon such an uncertain notice, and said that nothing should make him retract the advice he had given, and insisted upon my showing him the first letter,* which I declined doing, because I saw he wanted it only to support what he had done without warrant, and what it is now plain he had always, from the beginning, resolved to do, having entered some time ago into measures for that purpose with those on the other side, in hopes of gaining easier terms for himself and friends, by setting so good an example. What steps he had taken, and with whom he had dealt, he would not say; but owned he was out of hand to send another express, by which he would confirm the message that had gone by a former.

To this, and a great deal more than this that passed between us, Cameron, Sir Hector Maclean, and Lochiel were witnesses. I discoursed also Mr. Inese, Mr. Murray, and Daniel O'Brien upon it, and all were clearly of opinion that the scheme was broken, and that there could, in such a divided state, be no hope of success; so I determined, by their joint advice, to stop short in the matter, and proceed no further. However, I thought it of moment that the clans should be fully informed of all the steps you had taken, and preparations you had made towards assisting them, as soon as ever you were advised of the true state of things; that somebody should go to this purpose, and in order to bring back to you accounts of the true posture of affairs there, and of the consequences with which this Disarming Act would be attended, that so you might proceed upon sure grounds in whatever step you should afterwards think fit to take

* A communication from "the King" (May 29) to the four leaders, that the Bishop had prudently withheld, with James's approval.

towards retrieving the game. [Allan] Cameron was very willing to go on this errand, as he is every way the best qualified for it, on that account both of his perfect knowledge of men and matters, and of his coming directly to them from yourself; to which purpose I shall venture to give him instructions, according to the powers you were pleased to send, which instructions he is well to digest, and to commit to memory without producing them—it being neither safe, as things may stand, or necessary to carry any paper along with him.

I am sensibly concerned, sir, that you should have so much trouble in despatching all those letters and papers without effect. I wait for your orders to return all of them, though the commissions may remain here with the others that are blank, and be under the same custody; and the letters being general, were they not dated, might many of them be of use on a like occasion. As to money sent, I find upon discourse with Waters, that, no draft being actually made, there will nothing be lost on that account. I send back the two orders I received, and most thankfully acknowledge the confidence of all kinds you have been pleased to lodge in me on this occasion—which you may depend upon, sir, I should never have misused. But it grieves me to find that when I am so much trusted, I should be so little able to do service.

The Duke of Ormonde's letter contains other business besides that relating to Scotland; and, therefore, I will send it to him as soon as I can do it safely—it be all written out of cypher—and hope to be able so to do by the Pope's Minister. Since I found Lord Seaforth in such a state of mind I do not think myself at liberty to promise him—particularly in your name—what he had asked, but only left with him a general assurance of your favour, and desire to gratify him in all his requests upon a proper occasion. I have heard nothing of the Duke of Wharton, and being not ready to give the signal for any one's coming over hither, have consequently seen nobody. I refer myself in other matters to Hay's letter, and am, sir, &c.*

The projected expedition in favour of the Highlanders had given no slight amount of trouble both

* Stuart Papers.

to "the King" and to his Minister. That the former was in earnest is proved by Lord Inverness's letter to the Bishop (June 16), who wrote: "You'll receive by the post that departed three days ago what will produce you, I hope, one hundred and eighty thousand livres, which you'll employ, if necessary, towards buying up of ammunition, biscuit, brandy, &c., and transporting of the same, with the officers, gentlemen, and arms to be sent for this purpose"— onerous duties for a civilian in the Bishop's infirm state of health. The vigour, however, with which he entered upon the business was only exceeded by his prudence, and his conduct throughout was highly approved by James.

On the 17th of July Lord Seaforth penned a long statement to James, finding fault with the Bishop. To this "the King" replied (August 6), exonerating his Minister, recommending his correspondent to observe a "strict union with those whom I employ in the management of my affairs," and censuring him for giving directions to his followers to deliver up their arms before he had received "any orders" to that effect. His lordship subsequently answered in an insolent tone, and in the summer of the following year he closed the correspondence with a letter, half complaining and half dictatorial, from which it is only necessary to quote a passage referring to the Bishop:—

Your Majesty's Minister told me I might depend upon foreign aid, but would not let me know what quarter.* I did not ques-

* He would have little understood his duty if he had.

tion his fidelity, nor his being as great a statesman as the world allows him a scholar; but before I could pin my belief upon any man's sleeve, in a case of that consequence, I must needs suppose him as much inspired in politics as others have been in divinity, which I thought not, because I knew he was misinformed in things [which] were as much within my sphere as they were out of his.*

Instructions were sent from "our Court at Albano, 6th of June, 1725," to Allan Cameron, containing the following paragraph: "When you are at Paris you are to wait on the Bishop of Rochester, and to receive from him what further instructions he may have to give you, which you are to follow in the same manner as if they were herein set down."†

Among Lord Seaforth's requisitions during the negotiation was one to be created a Duke, though only a few years had passed since James had raised him to the dignity of a Marquis. All the time, however, as the Bishop stated, he was paving the way for an accommodation with the English Government, the result of which appeared in Letters Patent, dated July 12, 1726, and a subsequent grant out of his forfeited estate. His lordship is a type of the class to which he belonged, who caused endless anxiety to the Minister entrusted with the task of endeavouring to make them useful in forwarding the cause they pretended to have at heart: all, however, they had nearest at heart was their own pride, selfishness, or vanity.

The brave and hardy Highlanders, who had been fed with hopes of resisting the efforts of the English Ministry to deprive them of the most valued por-

* Stuart Papers. † *Ibid.*

tion of their national dress, were cruelly disappointed by the selfish policy of the chief of the clan McKenzie; but when Allan Cameron landed at the point of Morvine, in the following August, and communicated to the clans the instructions he had so judiciously been made to commit to memory, and the questionable proceedings that had caused the intended enterprise to be deferred, their compliance was as hearty as their maledictions on the marplot. Two or three months later the disarming of the whole martial population —Jacobites to a man—was quietly effected by Marshal Wade.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DUKE OF WHARTON AT VIENNA.

The Duke quits England with the object of assisting the Pretender—His Excuses for not visiting Paris—Atterbury writes to him—His Letter to James respecting the Bishop—Conduct of the Duke in the Austrian Capital—The Bishop's Troubles with Murray—Negotiations with the Bishop of Frejus—Affairs in Spain—Atterbury to the Duke—Ripperda in the Pay of Walpole—Marriage of Louis XV.—Murray appointed Governor to the Young Pretender, and ennobled—A Cardinal's Hat for the Bishop of Frejus—A Despatch from Atterbury to the Secretary of State—The Bishop's Recommendations—Foreign Affairs—Scotland—Seceders—Atterbury's Letter of Instruction to the Duke of Wharton—His Despatches to Lord Inverness—Vexatious Delays in his Communications—Another Despatch to the Duke—His Account of the Bishop—Lord Mar's Explanation—The Duke quits the Capital of the Empire.

The Duke of Wharton had not been content with defending and applauding the victim of the Whig Government, he went into active opposition as well as into active Jacobitism, maintaining a secret correspondence with James quite as criminal as that for which his friend had suffered. The conviction that a crisis was approaching in which he might figure prominently, and greatly to the advantage of the cause, induced him shortly afterwards to leave England, to see what could be done with the northern Courts in

James's behalf. Bishop Atterbury had obtained a knowledge of his journey, and had expected a visit from him at Paris; but the principal Jacobites in England were aware of the spies that had been set upon the Bishop, and had dissuaded the Duke from visiting the French capital. He had therefore gone to Holland, and from Rotterdam proceeded to Vienna; but first (early in July) wrote to James, excusing himself for not having taken Paris on his way, and "waiting on the Bishop of Rochester." There appears to have been either apprehension among the English Jacobites of risk of betrayal, or jealousy of the Bishop's influence that prevented the Duke's following the desired course. He writes:—

There is one reason more which I hope will have some weight with your Majesty, which is that Lord Orrery, and the rest of those I before mentioned, never have entrusted me with any correspondence between them and the Bishop of Rochester, so that I should not be at liberty to make use of their names to him without betraying of private confidence; and should I avoid telling the Bishop of Rochester everything of the English affairs, and the names of every person concerned in your Majesty's business on that side the water, it would create a fatal jealousy between the Bishop and those others whom I have before mentioned. I hope and beg that for these reasons I may be excused at this juncture going to Paris; but if your Majesty should think it necessary, and lay your commands upon me to that effect, nothing shall hinder me from obeying them punctually and honestly. For fear I should be wanting in anything that may conduce to your Majesty's service, I have by this post wrote to the Bishop of Rochester, and desired his instructions to be sent to me at Vienna, and a cypher of our future correspondence, which packet must be arrived there before I possibly can.*

* Stuart Papers.

A few days later (July 13) his Grace wrote again to James, repeating his excuses; but the Bishop had two days before, in his anxiety to be in communication with the Duke, sent to him the following despatch:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF WHARTON.

July 11, 1725.

My Lord,

I had heard of your arrival in Holland before I received your letter from thence, and had writ to you thither under the same cover which conveyed yours to me. If you have left directions with the gentleman [James Hamilton] how to forward anything of that kind, you will find how impatient I was to have seen you, and discoursed you about the sum of affairs, being encouraged to hope for such a meeting by him from whom you received your instructions on your landing on this side. I am persuaded we might have met undiscovered at a distance from this place; and that such a conference would have been of some use before you went on upon your intended journey. Since I have missed that opportunity, and all the pleasure I promised myself from it, I must do what I can to retrieve the misfortune by fixing a sure and secret correspondence. Till that is done, and a cypher transmitted to you after a secure manner, I dare not write to you with freedom. I am labouring to settle such a method, and hope I shall be able to do it in a very few days. In the meantime I make use of the address you send me, and shall be glad to hear this reaches you by the means of it. I wish it may, since the direction is so general. I must put your own name on the back of this letter: hereafter you will give me some other to be made use of on such occasions. The way in which you directed to me may be made use of till I furnish you with a better.

You are, my lord, in a place which will give you an occasion of exerting all your talents for the public good. 'Tis the very spot of business at this critical juncture. On the measures that shall be taken there our hopes at present chiefly depend. The great point is, to set things in such a light that those you deal with shall be convinced of the facility of what you propose, for

as to its usefulness in respect to them they themselves will and must be the only judges.

But I forbear, and conclude with assurances that there is not a man in the world that loves and honours you more, or is with more sincere respect, my lord, &c.*

When the Duke sent for this communication, on reaching the Austrian capital, he could hear no tidings of it. Inquiries were made at every likely place without result, and it was considered lost. On a searching investigation it was ascertained that it had never left the post-office in Paris. The letter was returned to the Bishop late in the month of August, and then forwarded to its destination.

The Minister, a few days after writing to the Duke, wrote to the King:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

Paris, July 16, 1725.

Sir,

I doubt not but you have understood the Duke of Wharton's motions otherwise than by the letter of which I transmitted a copy to you by the last post, and have made use of that notice to lodge such further instructions at Vienna as may meet him on his arrival there, and qualify him to do all the service which his heart is bent upon rendering you. There could not be a more critical and lucky moment for his journey, which must turn to account one way or another. For either he will give that Court those lights which are sufficient to fix them in their good intentions towards you, or [be] able at least to give you sure accounts how far they are, or are not, to be depended on, which itself is in this case, and indeed in all cases, no immaterial service. He has all the talents requisite to dive into the intentions of those he deals with; and an extraordinary degree of application when he pleases, and is intent upon compassing any point. He will be at a distance from all that company which misled him sometimes into frolics at home, and will, I hope, have no starts of that kind in a foreign country

* Stuart Papers.

and a grave Court, especially when he has aims of such importance in his view as those which at present possess him. If this proves the case, as I flatter myself it will, he will be useful to you, sir, beyond what you could expect from his age and experience. You will soon have opportunities of knowing how he conducts himself and your affairs, as far as he is apprized of them; and will be pleased to let him into your confidence in proportion to the use you find he makes of it.

Of domestic matters he is sufficiently informed, and can give a satisfactory account of them. If they hearken to him on that head they may be disposed to hear him reason on other matters which have a near relation to England, particularly one, upon which give me leave to explain my thoughts, because, if approved, you may possibly find some occasion to make use of them. One of the Emperor's favourite views seems to be to promote the trade of his two new companies, particularly that of Ostend, which it is, I think, evident that England and Holland in conjunction have secretly agreed to ruin without coming to any open rupture with the Emperor. Their way of doing it will be, and has already been, by discountenancing and distressing those new ventures to the Indies, where the Dutch and English have all the power, and a great influence on the natives. Nothing but such a tacit agreement can account for the present friendship between England and Holland, notwithstanding the assurances given to the latter by the former of their assistance towards stifling that trade in its birth, which they have no otherwise made good than by joining with them in measures to destroy the factories and ships of the Ostenders in the Indies, while they seem to give them no disturbance at home. The Emperor's ministers, if they do not yet see this, may be made to see it, and to perceive plainly that nothing but your establishment on the throne can secure a share of that trade to the Flemings. Nor are there any good objections against your encouraging them in this respect; since the Dutch, which you will then have no need to manage, will be the chief losers in the case, and it will be always better for England that that part of the Indian trade which it cannot carry on itself should be divided between the Dutch and Flemings than entirely engrossed by the former.

I mention this as a matter perhaps not much attended to, which yet is of some weight. Other advantages there are which

the Emperor may justly propose to himself from a Restoration, but being obvious I need not explain them; though if the Duke of Wharton be well received and listened to, it is fit he should be prepared on those heads, and may soon be instructed from Rome in relation to them. I have, I think, settled a correspondence with him through the Nuncios here and at Vienna which will be liable to no accidents; and shall make use of it the best that I can towards doing him and the cause service.

I question not but he will find a way of waiting upon you at Rome, and may possibly, if not restrained, be less upon his guard in that case than he should be. For he must always act upon a view of returning home, where, though he may at this juncture be of great service abroad, yet his admirable talents will always be of most use, and he ought not, therefore, in my humble opinion, to do anything which may render his return absolutely impracticable. I enter not into any other matter at present but what relates to him and the Court of Vienna, because I see not as yet anything rising elsewhere that gives immediate hopes, though the affair of the north seems still to have some degree of life in it, and the new particulars relating to it, which Daniel O'Brien will send by this post, give us still reason to expect a blow from that quarter.

I am extremely concerned, sir, that, in regard to the Highland affair, you should have given yourself so much trouble to so little purpose. However, I hope the full information that Cameron carries will be of use to preserve them faithful, and to make them as easy as they can be in their circumstances, and will also afford you such lights at his return as may be very serviceable. I wait your orders for sending back any of the papers, or all of them, by him or by any other hand to which I shall be directed.

If General Dillon, upon delivering some part of what was required, should write to you in such a manner as that you shall think fit to make any answer, you will be pleased, sir, to consider whether he may not be put in mind of complying in the point of the cyphers, of which I stand in great need, and of the other forms and printed papers in his custody, and be told also that the state of his accounts is expected without delay. He has now perfectly recovered his health, and has now nothing on that head to plead for his dilatoriness. When Mr. Inese asks

him now for these things at St. Germains, he says they are at Paris.

I hope I have not done wrong in keeping back the first letter to the clans; and am the more persuaded that I have not, because I find Lord Seaforth still so desirous that at least the contents of that letter may be notified to him in form, doubtless with some view of making use of it. The other two are perfectly well satisfied with what I have done, and approve the grounds on which I acted in not imparting it. Nor do I doubt of his coming to reason in a little time, as soon as he feels the ill success of his past conduct and present transactions. I believe he is at this moment more out of humour with himself than with anybody else. This I find by some overtures he has made me by young Semple.* I shall watch and improve all opportunities of bringing him to temper. In the mean time, sir, it will be a satisfaction to me to find I did not err in forbearing to signify to him your compliance with his request, since you gave me leave only to do it upon the supposition of a compliance also on his part which I did not meet with, and therefore thought not myself at liberty to make use of the power you had given me; and indeed I am of opinion that his extorting such a favour at that point of time, when he was acting such a part, would have rendered him more intractable for the future. I am surprised at Lord Islay's late journey to Holland, and am apt to think it related to some correspondence he was managing on this side with regard to the Highlands.—I am, sir, &c.†

The estimate the Bishop had formed of his cordial but unreliable friend the Duke of Wharton, made it necessary to give James a caution. The Duke was careless and impetuous, and impatient of steady business anywhere. The Secretary of State (July 25) suggested that the Chevalier Geraldine should be associated with him.

May not it be convenient as matters stand to send him for

* John Sempill, a spy of Horace Walpole, then residing with the Bishop.

† Stuart Papers.

some time to Vienna? He can take a cup with the Duke, and perhaps divert him from any excess, which I take to be the Duke of Wharton's greatest failing, who, if any ways imprudent in his cups, will find people enough in that country ready to ply him that way and to take advantage of it by misrepresenting him to the Emperor, who has an aversion to people that are addicted to too much drinking.*

In addition to the anxiety Atterbury felt lest his friend should misconduct himself when there was so much at stake that called for the utmost propriety and circumspection, came the annoyance, from which he was seldom free, arising from the insubordination and underhanded proceedings of persons with whom he was obliged to associate in the unprofitable service he had undertaken. His remarks on the apparent reconciliation of Murray, at the commencement of the next letter, show how greatly his patience must have been taxed on this account.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Sir, July 16, 1725.

The former part of your letter of June 27 I shall, consistently with what I have resolved, pass over, expressing only my wishes and hopes that care may be taken to prevent such needless and groundless appeals for the future, which will breed just suspicions and disunion here, and uneasiness both here and elsewhere, and overturn a confidence necessary towards carrying on the King's affairs with success, at least while I have the honour to be employed in them. I meet with difficulties enough from those who are laid aside, and at my age and in my ill state of health and circumstances, need no new ones to exercise my patience.

And indeed, sir, to speak my mind once for all, unless I can be perfectly secure of a strict harmony and openness between me and those I am to act with, and can depend upon their good offices and friendship in every case—even where we may happen

* Stuart Papers.

to differ a little in our judgments of men or things—the state I shall be in will be too uncomfortable for me not to wish myself out of it as soon as is possible. My case is particular. I live within doors, under various disadvantages, and must judge as well as I can upon the informations that are brought me. If I err, yet my mistakes, I think, should not be exaggerated, or made matter of complaint, but either covered in silence or treated with tenderness. If my heart and my head (such as it is) are—as they certainly are—entirely engaged in the service, the more easy that is made to me the more useful I shall be; and it can never be made easy to me while any one that is to join me in it thinks it proper to write anything of me, which is not proper to be shown me. I am sensible your station and character entitle you to know everything that is for the King's service; but things sometimes happen—among those of whose good affections there can be no doubt—which it is for his service that you should not know; and you yourself, sir, seem to be of this opinion by what you were pleased in your last letter to write to me. And therefore I am the freer in opening myself to you, as I think your sentiments do not clash with mine on this article; and am persuaded I shall have your friendly assistance towards checking any attempts of the same kind for the future, which is all I aim at, and for which I shall make you all the returns of respect and gratitude that are in my power. I have done with this subject, and apply myself to what is contained in the last part of your letter.

The Chevalier [Geraldine] has that [communication] for the Bishop of Frejus. He and his father are extremely thankful for the favour of the King's recommendation. I find the Chevalier has scarce any English at all, which makes it a little difficult for me to converse with him, or employ him in anything where it will be required he should have previous and punctual instructions. And yet I like his spirit and turn so well that I wish I could find out some way of rendering him, what he above all things desires to be, serviceable to the King. But he is soon going to his regiment. I have heard nothing of Radcliffe since I sent him his letter, though I suppose his request with relation to the future Christening was complied with. He will, I apprehend, be with me soon, and then I will insinuate what you would have said to him as dexterously as I can.

I wonder not at the manner of France treating the Pope, after the point was secured for England, since that is the interposition of a professed friend, and if admitted, is likely to prove of ten times more service to the Duke of Bourbon than the other, though it is hard to conceive that Spain should admit of it while matters of high consequence stand at the same time coadjutated between Spain and England. My surprise is the greater in this case, as I am satisfied Spain would never have accepted the offer without the Emperor's consent; and how that consists with what Cardinal Cienfuegos represents I do not see, unless it be an amusement to cover deeper designs. A little time, and time only, will explain this riddle.

The drafts of the King of Spain's declaration—here handed about for some time—though written skilfully by a man of sense, yet is a plain forgery. The Duke of Ormonde has all along said in his letters that there would be no rupture between Spain and France. To be sure there will be none soon. Whether there shall be any hereafter lies in the breast of the Emperor, whose councils I suppose will govern in that particular, and these will be guided by his views of interest after he has endeavoured, with or without success, to dissolve the present intimacy between France and England. The Pope's reputation is so low, by reason of what has happened to him at home, that I expect not to see him interpose with any weight in any of the affairs of Europe, and on that account, as well as the other I mentioned, I suppose him to have been neglected by France.

There is nothing from the north as yet that may be depended on, and yet neither is it clear that the designs on that side are for this year laid aside. The *Paris Gazette* of Saturday last, in the article from Petersburg, seems still to apprehend them. Since nothing ripens so fast as was expected either there or elsewhere, the supporting the Highlanders in expectation of some foreign assistance becomes the less necessary. Cameron will show them that they have not been neglected, but that the King was ready to have done everything in his power towards relieving them, if their own heads had not thought other measures more advisable. He has now been several days at sea, as appears by a letter which he sent from Havre de Grace, upon his embarking. Sir Nicholas Geraldine, who undertook the preparing a ship, had given his instructions in so unpunctual a manner that when

Cameron came he found not things ready to his mind, and was forced to wait some time before he could accommodate himself with what was proper. The worthy honest man is grown old, and incapable, I find, of doing service on these occasions in such a manner as may be depended on. Robert Arbuthnot begins to want courage, or at least to abound more in prudence than he used to do, is almost always at a distance from hence, and when here declines seeing me, though he is my banker.

I want a good cypher, and have neither time, patience, or health enough to frame it myself. Be pleased to let Mr. Foster have the enclosed, and to believe me, sir, &c.

I wish to know whether, as your letter seems to say, the King himself has had an interview with Cardinal Cienfuegos, and whether the first meeting between him and you was at his seeking or yours, and how that new correspondence proceeds.*

No intelligence had arrived from Vienna, and the Bishop, ignorant of the detention of his letter at Paris, could not conjecture the cause of the Duke's silence. It was of the first importance that he should know the Emperor's intentions with as little delay as possible, and therefore he wrote again.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF WHARTON.

My Lord, July 17, 1725.

Upon the receipt of yours from Holland I wrote immediately to you, under Mr. Sheridan's cover, which was directed "A Monsieur Sheridan, gentilhomme Anglois, à Vienna." I was, and am still, in doubt whether that letter, with such a general direction, would reach you surely, and shall be in pain till I hear you have it. In the mean time I am endeavouring to find out a surer channel by the Pope's nuncio here to the nuncio at Vienna, who I understand is particularly acquainted with Mr. Sheridan, and I hope by that way to send you this very letter, and to fix it as the future method of our correspondence. Till that is done, and a cypher also agreed on, nothing of consequence can be written on either side, the common post being not to be trusted.

* Stuart Papers.

I want to know an hundred things of you, and to impart also a few things to you, when both may be done with safety and freedom; and think it a great misfortune that I missed seeing you, which might easily have been compassed without observation at a proper distance from Paris. But it is too late to think of retrieving that point; what remains is to manage our present distance as well as we can towards serving the cause to which we are equal well wishers. I shall do it on my side as far as my health will permit, with fidelity, industry, and pleasure; for as I have nothing in my view but to procure a restoration, so there is no hand in the world which I more wish should be employed in it, and have a distinguished share in the work, than your grace's; acceptable to me on many accounts, and particularly with regard to the last parting acts of friendship which you showed me, and for which I will make your grace, while I live, all the returns in my power. The juncture is critical—no moments must be lost. A few weeks—nay, days—as things now stand, may furnish the opportunity we want, if we are so happy as to lay hold of it and improve it. And in all probability your grace is on the very spot from whence the first motions to our happiness must proceed, and will have it much in your power both to procure them at first, and afterwards to influence and guide them. They want light into the true state of affairs at home, and you, my lord, can give it them, and consequently inspire them with courage to venture upon that which they will think it their interest to attempt, if once they are convinced it is practicable. If they cannot dissolve the present intimacy between England and France by treaty, they must do it by force, and by putting one at the head of things there, upon whose friendship they may more firmly depend. Their counsels seem at present to fluctuate on that head; it is reserved for you, I hope, to determine them, and in order to it I am able to suggest motives of consequence, and such as they are likely to taste at this juncture. But I will not enter into that matter till I am perfectly sure of my channel. You can, if I mistake not, write to Rome, and receive an answer from thence in ten or twelve days; and I have written my mind thither fully on several occasions. You cannot fail of drawing from thence many of the lights you will want, and I am sure you will not fail of making a proper use of them. Go on and prosper.

Tuque dum procedis, Io triumphe,
Non semel dicemus, Io triumphe,
Civitas omnis ; dabimusque Divis,
Thura benignia.

No more at present beside professions of the sincerest respect, and entreaties that I may hear from you about the state of affairs both at home and abroad. You may write to me by the same conveyance, addressing it under the name of Andrews to me, and putting a cover over it, "à Monsieur Murray, gentilhomme Ecossois, à Paris." Mr. Sheridan is well acquainted with the nuncio in your parts, through whose packet it will come by the nuncio here to Mr. Murray, and by him to me.

What name shall I give you in my address to you for the future? *

Ripperda, who was one of the innumerable recipients of Walpole's secret service money, had a little before arrived secretly at Vienna from Madrid. In the suburbs of the imperial capital he took up his residence, with the assumed name of Baron Pfaffenberg, and here he was frequently visited at night by Zinzendorf, the Emperor's minister. While these conferences were going on occurred the marriage of Louis XV. with Maria, daughter of Stanislaus, nominal King of Poland. The Queen of Spain had torn off a bracelet from her wrist, that contained a portrait of the royal Lothario who had jilted her daughter, and trampled it under foot; and all the resignation Philip had acquired in the cloister could not prevent his threatening to avenge this affront to his family with rivers of blood. Of this "mighty pretty quarrel as it stood" the Duke of Ormonde, at Madrid, and the Duke of Wharton, at Vienna, were expected to make the most. The negotiations that followed

* Stuart Papers.

would fill a volume; but as Bishop Atterbury was not directly concerned in them, they can only be very slightly noticed.

Murray had not discontinued his practice of writing to Rome letters obviously intended to create a prejudice against the Bishop, and of threatening to withdraw from Paris. The object he had in view was not lost upon James, whose lamentable infatuation for his sister was then at its height. There is little doubt that the Countess of Inverness employed all her influence in his favour, for in July "the King" called Mr. Murray from the French capital to become the governor of his eldest son Charles Edward, associated with Tom Sheridan as sub-governor. He gratified the former with the title of "Earl of Dunbar, Viscount of Drumcairn, and Lord of Hudikes." After acquainting the Bishop with his intentions, James wrote:—

I am very sensible you will not a little want Mr. Murray near yourself, but the motive of my sending for him will, I am sure, engage you not to regret his absence. My son's education is of the greatest importance. I have it with reason much at heart, to supply as much as possible his being bred up in a foreign country, by putting those about him, who by their knowledge of our own may be most capable of instilling into him those principles and notions which may enable him to make our nation happy in him whenever he reigns over it.*

James could scarcely have made a worse selection. He missed the opportunity open to him of recommending the inheritor of his claims to a very influential portion of the English people. The result is well known. The Bishop evidently did not expect much from such a teacher, but must have been glad to get

* Stuart Papers.

rid of him. Unfortunately, however, for his comfort, Murray had indoctrinated Daniel O'Brien with his narrow-minded opinions. In truth, most of James's subordinate adherents took advantage of their master's feebleness of purpose to develop their own self-importance.

A subject in which the minister was more deeply interested was a project then just started, that James should procure a cardinal's hat for the Bishop of Frejus. He (Atterbury), however, was not satisfied that the French prelate was to be relied upon.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

July 30, 1725.

Sir,

Whatever inconvenience may attend the service here, by your withdrawing Mr. Murray, the education of the Prince is a point of so tender concern that all other considerations, when they come in competition with it, ought to give way to it. I doubt not but he will employ all his diligence and zeal towards answering the ends you propose to yourself, by calling him to so important a trust, on the right discharge of which the happiness of three kingdoms may hereafter depend. I wish him success in it with all my heart, and that he may satisfy both your expectations and those of your people that continue faithful to you, whose true interests are so closely united with yours that they can never honestly or wisely be separated.

Of as little use as I have hitherto been in this place, I foresee I shall now be of less; and it is well therefore that there will be little here to do, and that the scene of action will lie elsewhere—at least for some time—till France shall change its principles and measures. In the mean time, a proposition has been made to me, which it becomes me to lay before you nakedly, in the manner I received it. The Duke de la Force, in conjunction with an Abbé here, that is a chief favourite of the Bishop of Frejus, has laid a scheme for engaging your interest to procure the Bishop of Frejus a cap; and they pretend certainly to know that your good offices in that respect will be

welcome to him, since he despairs of obtaining it otherwise, till there be a general nomination for the Crown, the Duke of Bourbon manifestly traversing and defeating all his measures to that purpose. It is intimated to me, but not affirmed, that the Bishop of Frejus himself is at the bottom of this proposition. Young Geraldine came first to me on this errand, and afterwards the Duke [de la Force] himself, who made great professions of his intentions to serve you in this matter, and that this was his only view, without any regard to the interest of the Bishop of Frejus. However, I perceived that he was a creature of the Duke of Orleans, and thought that if a cap could be procured for the Bishop of Frejus, who has certainly the King of France's affections, that advantage would release him from his present dependence, and probably end in his being made Chief Minister.

I represented the nicety of the matter, and the danger of a discovery, whether the proposition did or did not take effect; but after all, being urged by the Duke, promised to lay it before you, and in order to it desired Geraldine to put something in writing, which the Duke, I believe, chiefly dictated, and I now enclose. You will see by it, sir, not only what is aimed at, but somewhat also of the manner in which it is thought proper to bring it about, and will please to consider how far the closing with this proposal is either prudent or safe, especially at this juncture, when the Duke of Bourbon is courting England so violently, and opposing the Bishop of Frejus so heartily; and will certainly, if he stands his ground after such a step, resent it highly. However, I have no opinion of my own to offer in the case, being utterly unqualified to judge of it. You will be pleased, sir, after weighing it, to let me know what answer I shall return. Your assisting the Bishop of Frejus will certainly forward what you are soliciting here, if you can gain your point of him, before he gains his of you; and it will as certainly defeat it, if your mixing in that affair be discovered before the thing is done. Nor does it clearly appear, if the Bishop of Frejus should by your means gain his cap first and then the Ministry, what part he would act with regard to England and your interest afterwards. But this point it may be supposed may be cleared, when upon the general offer proposed to be made to you, the person entrusted discourses the [Arch] Bishop

of Ambrun,* now engaged in your behalf, [who] has, I doubt not, the same views, though at a greater distance; but I forbear to enter further into this matter, which is, as I said, so far beyond my reach. I have mentioned nothing of it to anybody here, being obliged to keep the secret inviolate.

What I have to add on other points, shall be the subject of my letter to Lord Inverness.—I am, sir, &c.†

James did not obtain much active assistance from either of the French cardinals; the recommendation of his devotion to the Catholic Church, and the prospect his restoration afforded of making their faith dominant in Great Britain, could not counterbalance the dread, deeply fixed in the minds of French statesmen, of affording an opportunity for the career of another "Malbrook;" but less dignified ecclesiastics, ambitious of promotion to the Sacred College, knowing that "the Pretender" might be permitted a nomination, did not think it necessary to exhibit the same reticence. In the case of the Bishop of Frejus, James was not disposed to act, as he doubted that prelate's knowing anything of the present negotiation, he having a year ago declined the offer of such interest. After stating this to his Minister (August 15), he added:—

All therefore that can be done in prudence is for you, after returning in my name the proper compliments to M. de la Force for his goodwill towards me, to inform him that I have directed you to tell him that I have a very particular esteem for M. de Frejus, and will always be glad when he, the Bishop of Frejus, puts it in my power to serve one so much attached to the King of France, adding from yourself what else your own prudence may suggest in conformity to the lights I now give you.‡

* Subsequently Cardinal de Tencin.

† Stuart Papers.

‡ Stuart Papers.

The condition of affairs in Scotland, as far as they affected James's interests, was discouraging; the Whig Government by their knowledge of his designs having taken timely measures to frustrate them. Nor were his prospects elsewhere much more favourable. His resources were exhausted; neither the Czarina nor the Emperor would come to any definite resolution as to an intervention; the only hopeful incident being a dispute at Madrid between the Spanish and French ambassadors for precedence.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

July 30, 1725.

Sir,

I am indebted for two of yours, of July 4 and 11, and shall now say what occurs to the contents of both of them. There is nothing yet to encourage us from the north, nor is there room for anything beyond a bare attempt on Denmark this summer, which makes me less solicitous for what has happened to hinder the project of supporting the clans, because matters ripen so slowly elsewhere, that they could have no concurring assistance from abroad till next year; and before that their attempt would probably be quashed, though it should be encouraged by the tumults on account of the small-pox, to which many parts of Scotland seem now disposed. Should those stirs increase, they would only draw down more forces northward, and there would be room for the guarantees to send their quotas, and such a body of men would be in readiness to oppose any attempt from abroad that should be designed in the spring. Upon the whole, therefore, it may not be amiss that the Highlanders lie still, and do not by that means encourage a general insurrection in other parts of the country. The spirit of these people will not be subdued by next year, and will then exert itself to more advantage, if anything can in the meantime be concerted abroad to fall in with it and favour it. Thus I think and hope the thing may prove, and on this account make myself easy under the late disappointment. The disarming of the Highlands may not possibly go on this year, the

troops designed for this purpose being otherwise employed; and then upon Cameron's return and report of matters, surer measures may be taken both at home and abroad, and everything duly prepared against another season. There will be time also for Lord Seaforth to repent and resolve to act a different part. I hear he has written to the King and complained of my *venturing* to keep back his first letter. He has written also to me about his title, and, perhaps, may have mentioned it to the King. I send you his letter, and my answer, which you will be pleased to return to me, together with Lord North's and the Duke of Wharton's, which have been sent you. I doubt not but the King, in both these instances, will justify my conduct, which was intended for his honour and service; and provided that end be reached, a little peevishness towards me for the present may be borne.

My humble opinion is that, now the King has time to turn himself, Lord Seaforth should be managed in such a manner as to see that the best way of gaining favours, is not to make use of opportunities to extort them, at the same time that he is resolved to sit still himself and do nothing for them. He aims manifestly at the absolute direction of all matters relating to the Highlands. How he would manage such an affair may be judged by some steps he has already taken, and the correspondence, I fear, he has entered into. He will be extremely out of humour when he hears of Mr. Murray's new title, and will not distinguish between what is necessary to be done out of hand by the King with regard to his own dignity, and to those who are employed about his person, and what may be as well, or better, deferred to another time. But Cameron's return will clear up many difficulties, and open such views to the King, as will enable him to discern plainly what he has to do.

In the mean time things may be kept a little in suspense without hazard. I am sorry to say that his journey has not been kept so secret as it should have been, and that I have good reason to believe the Duke of Mar knows not only that, but all particulars here transacted between the clans, which is a great misfortune, and the greater because I see not how it can well be prevented for the future. I have hinted to you already poor Sir Nicholas Geraldine's mismanagement in relation to Cameron's conveyance. It might have been hoped that, if he

had any talents left, they would have been useful in the affair he took upon himself, his whole life having been spent in such matters; but the truth is, those which he has employed at the sea-side have imposed upon him, and having commissions given them to draw, have made use of it to purpose, and swelled the charges to three or four times the sum he told me the thing would cost. He is honesty itself, but has now no manner of abilities. I am sorry I did not see through him sooner. All the amends I can make is by never venturing again on things out of my depth, and which lie not within the compass of my own observation, and in that point I am fully determined. The cross winds have added to our misfortunes in this case, and delayed the journey some weeks at a time when every moment was precious. But I hope the delay will not prove of ill consequence, since matters are likely to proceed with so slow a pace in Scotland. I send you some letters which will give you a fuller view of these matters than I have now time to represent.

I have set the solicitation of General Dillon again agoing, though he has almost discouraged Mr. Lewis Inese by telling him now that the other papers he is to deliver up are at Paris; whereas, when he was in Paris he said always that they were all at St. Germains. Lord Mar, who is now his neighbour, plays the fool with him, and gives vain hopes of seeing things return soon into their old channel, which, in some measure, is the cause of his delays, and of his giving even sillier excuses than he used to do, for not complying with what he promised. Perseverance will bring all things to rights.

Robin Arbuthnot is almost always at Rouen, and, therefore, not to be dealt with—by me at least. I question not his principles—they are, doubtless, the same they ever were—but his conduct is very different, and I am pretty sure the observations I made on it are just. Has he been directed to come to me? By his behaviour I should think he has not.

You referred me to Daniel O'Brien's letter upon the head of his being presented to the Bishop of Frejus. The letter he showed me referred him to Mr. Murray, and there I saw what you meant. I hope Mr. Murray, when he takes leave, will draw new and useful lights from the Bishop, whose freedom to him before, I begin now to think, sprang, in some measure, from those views of his about which I have written by this post to

the King. His continuing in them may perhaps increase his openness.

I have heard nothing yet from the Duke of Wharton. He is upon the very spot of action, and will be a witness of all that passes in relation to the dispute of the *Pas*, upon which a great deal depends. I have yet no way of corresponding surely with him; for though the nuncio here had been so civil as to write to the minister there on purpose to propose to convey one letter, yet, I cannot hope for his repeating those favours, since he says he has no business or intercourse with the minister. But with him in Spain he has, and will always convey and reconvey my letters by that channel, as he has begun to do already.

I have dropped Lord Sinclair. His letters were not fit to be answered by me, but in a manner in which it was not fit for me to answer them. I am afraid you will hear of some violence offered by him to Walkingshaw at his return, he having vowed revenge upon what has been represented to him, and is believed by him, concerning Walkingshaw personating him to the Pensioner.

You are convinced before this time of my having no thoughts of touching the great sum remitted. You remember, and I do not forget, what you told me at Brussels on that head. The two letters * went by Clincostum, not exactly according to my mind, which was to have sent them by the person I mentioned to you as pitched on for that service. Clin. is subtle and interested, and I wish he may not have infused the thought which occasioned the cool answer that has been transmitted to you. If I find the King thinks the papers I received should stay with me till Cameron comes back, I shall keep them so long; otherwise I shall return them by Mr. Murray when he sets out, for I desire to have nothing in my possession but what is of immediate use and service.

I shall long to know whether your transactions with Cardinal Cienfuegos proceed or cool. My eye is altogether fixed on that point and the Court of Vienna; for the expectations from the Czarina diminish, and she seems to be put a little out of her way by somebody. If that somebody be the Emperor, and the delay be occasioned by any overtures betwixt them not yet—but which

* Of congratulation to the daughter of Stanislaus, the exiled King of Poland, on her approaching marriage with Louis XV.

soon will be—adjusted, all is well; and her slow motions will be so much the surer. Should not the true state of Scotland at present be represented fully at Petersburg as a powerful inducement to mix in our affairs? It certainly is so.

You see my letters continue to be long. I shall soon make you amends by shorter. I was lately under an apprehension of losing my daughter, the only family comfort I have; but, I thank God, the danger is blown over, and I expect her and her husband here by the end of next month. They have had a Sign Manual these three months, without being able to make use of it.—I am, sir, &c.*

Rarely did the Minister recommend any one for employment in the service he had embraced, but when he did so it was always with admirable discrimination. The next letter is a second instance of this kind that had occurred within the year.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

August 6, 1725.

Sir,

Though your last requires an answer, yet I am too ill to give it by this post. However, I cannot defer proposing that an order, under the King's hand, may be sent to Daniel O'Brien, empowering and requiring him—after all the lights you can give us concerning the papers sent to Lord Mar and General Dillon, and not returned by them—to demand of them those which still remain in the custody of the one or the other. We will compare all you send carefully with all that is returned, so as to be able to make a clear and peremptory demand. After which he will, I dare say, execute the commission with fairness, and may probably succeed in it.

Pardon me if I add my wishes that something may be done for my neighbour Panton, either by taking him into the family as a gentleman at large, or employing him elsewhere, as shall be thought convenient. He is a man of honest and firm principles, wants neither sense, language, nor experience; is, I think, of good extraction, and has a good graceful person; and is now

* Stuart Papers.

reduced, I fear, to such extremities as scarce to be able to support himself and wife, who is well born and one of the best women living. This is the first time I have troubled you with a recommendation of this kind, to which my compassion for the man and his wife merely prompts me. He is known to the King, and to you perhaps better than to me; and, therefore, I make this recommendation with reserve, and if there be a just objection against it, retract it.*

The person in whose favour the Bishop thus wrote had been a confidential correspondent of James, and an intimate friend of the Duke of Wharton. The application was not successful, though, about the close of the year 1729, the King procured Mr. Panton a small pension from the French Government. Before this the Bishop had assisted him with pecuniary advances. It was his carriage that had accommodated the Morices on their journey to the coast.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO "JAMES III."

Sir, August 13, 1725.

The delivery of the letters to Lochiel and Sir Hector Maclean has been so managed as was directed. The temper of Lord Seaforth, and disposition he is at present in, has appeared to you by what himself has wrote, and by the copy of his letter and my answer, which I lately transmitted to you. My opinion is that he will continue just in the same situation till he hears news from Scotland that may give a turn to his thoughts and make him see his error. In the mean time he shall be dealt with upon a foot of respect, without either humouring him too much or giving him any just occasion of offence—which is the medium I think ought to be observed with him, if it can be hit upon, and will leave room for opening a new intercourse, when he shall become rightly disposed for it. At present his own passions and counsels and mistakes have bewildered and made him a little peevish.

The affair of Scotland begins to grow every day of greater

* Stuart Papers.

consequence, and is what I humbly recommend to your most serious reflections. There will probably be room enough to prepare and digest everything relating to it after Cameron's return, and the report he shall make. I shall explain myself a little further on this head in what I write to Lord Inverness.

If the juncture proves favourable, and anything goes on upon that foot, my earnest request is that I may not be employed in things of which I am no competent judge, which will breed envy and occasion mistakes, and every way hurt the service. And therefore I hope you will be pleased, sir, to think of persons proper to be advised with in their way. Such an one I take Rothe to be, and Nugent also—if he can be depended upon as to keeping the secret from the Duke of Berwick. I am well acquainted with both of them, but best with the first. It must be a letter from you, sir—in due time and place—that will oblige either of them effectually to exert himself. And such a person there should be to guide the military part, and to be a check upon the rashness of others who are not like to consider things with due wisdom and calmness. I offer these hints thus early that there may be room to consider and digest everything before the occasion arrives—as I hope in some time it will.

I shall expect the full accounts of the papers still in the Duke of Mar's and General Dillon's hands, and your orders relating to them, as likewise your answer in respect to the commission proposed to be given on that head to Daniel O'Brien. When we receive the proper directions they shall not be neglected.—I am, sir, &c.

Sir Peter Redmond is here—a man of sense and of zeal for the service. He sees me often. May he not be made use of towards directing and supervising the expenses which relate to the maritime part, in which he is perfectly skilled? If you judge so, sir, you will please to take some way to make us confer together on that part of your affairs with freedom, as often as there shall be occasion. May it not be proper also to write to some persons of consideration in Scotland with whom you have been used at other times to correspond, in order to have their joint or separate advice at this critical juncture? The great point is to think of one proper to be put at the head of the whole when the time of action comes.*

* Stuart Papers.

The delay in the action of the sovereigns considered to be favourable to James's pretensions, caused the anxious minister to watch more narrowly the state of public feeling in Scotland. The courts most hostilely disposed towards England would only take up the cause of the son of James II. as a pretext for attack; but with the majority of the population of Scotland the last of the Stuarts was the sole legitimate King of Scotland, and they were ready to risk life and limb in that conviction. This was the assailable point in the defence of the German Government of Great Britain, and the Bishop sagaciously keeps this steadily in view. He still continued to glance round to all quarters where aid might be expected. The results of his observations are thus detailed:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Sir, August 13, 1725.

Since I acknowledged one of your letters of July 18, I have received another of the 25th, and by this post make my answer to both, as far as is requisite, having little either to add or oppose to your reasonings on some important points contained in both of them. There is great reason to fear that your reflections on Capt. Hay's letter from Petersburg are just, and that there's an end of our hopes for this season from that quarter. The worst is, that if the designed alliance with France goes on, there's an end of all expectations from Muscovy till France shall break with the Duke of Hanover. If this design succeed you may depend upon it 'twill be by the means of Prince Kurakin, who is the great instrument of promoting it now, as he was in the Czar's time. From whatever hands it comes it has a very ill aspect on the King's affairs as far as they depend upon the measures taken in that part of the world, and shows how great a loss the death of the Czar is, and how much more easy it is and will be to deal with his successors.

And you will observe one circumstance in the printed news

from England, about the Russian ships appearing on the coast of Scotland, that if it holds good seems still to give hopes that there may be life in that matter. The great mystery to me is how the Emperor and France should both join so heartily in promoting this affair, as it is certain both have done. Could their separate interests produce this effect? Or was it not rather brought about by the influence of a third power, according to the scheme laid down in the end of your second letter, which I wish may prove an Italian refinement? I have not light enough to form a sure judgment in such cases: however, thus much I think is plain, that either there must be a real distaste between the Duke of Hanover and the Emperor, or the Bishop of Frejus must be terribly deceived in his politics, since I am satisfied he did not intend to deceive him he had to deal with in that conversation, of which you have had an account.

Let this riddle be explained which way it will, I shall still agree with you in the prudence of the King's managing the French Court in all events, both on the account of his own private affairs there depending, and because a little time at this nice juncture may produce great changes. There is no objection against managing the people here—there is against relying upon them—in which opinion I have not varied.

When I know the result of your second conference with Cardinal Cienfuegos, I shall be better able to guess at the true situation of the Emperor towards the Duke of Hanover; for as you will observe, if there be no collusion, steps and approaches will be made towards the King [James], and if they are not, there is but one reasonable way of accounting for that coldness. You are therefore upon a right scent in the experiment you are making. In the mean time, while nothing encouraging at home offers itself, the stop put to the attempt on the Highlands is no misfortune, but may be turned to an advantage. When Cameron comes back it will clearly appear what is to be done, and there will be room to prepare and digest everything agreeably to the report that shall be made by him. The ferment there will by this delay be probably raised to its height, and yet perhaps no great impressions made on the Highlands by reason of the diversion given elsewhere, of which you will have accounts without my giving them you. If during the long pause that will happen something from abroad can be put in motion and ripened, the success may answer our wishes.

You are not to expect Lord Seaforth's explication of his own conduct, which, you may remember, he proffered to unfold only upon a condition which I could not comply with. If his scheme fails and he finds himself cheated, or if he perceives the reproaches against him grow warm and loud, in either case I shall hear of him again and be let into the secret, and the best way to know it will be not to appear eager to pry into it, but preserve a respectable distance, which will leave room for a new intercourse when he shall judge it convenient. You are in the right; his resolutions were not founded upon the intelligence he had of the King's letter, but of an earlier date. The letter to Lochiel and Sir Hector Maclean, and the other to the former of them, were delivered in the manner desired.

I can furnish you with no materials of that kind you want towards dealing with Cardinal Cienfuegos. How should I, who am so much alone, and so little assisted towards gaining such lights, and am still likely to be less? The forms* you would have got from England by me cannot be procured till my son-in-law returns. Three or four months' time will scarce furnish me with them. The Duke of Wharton will be able to get them sooner if it be thought fit to employ him on that head. I have heard nothing from him since that letter I transmitted to you, though I have written twice to him. The sum, I find, which is allowed him by his trustees to subsist upon abroad will not admit of the project I had entertained of his supporting the Chevalier [Geraldine], and that could only have been proposed to him upon a personal interview and bringing them both together.

Do not forget to return the three letters you now have of mine. When you send the accounts requisite to complete the list of papers demanded of the Duke of Mar and General Dillon, and Daniel O'Brien has the commission I moved for, we will not be idle in that matter. I thank you for the cypher, and shall expect the other you promise. Mr. Murray, I suppose, will leave his with me.

I am much concerned at the expense of Cameron's journey, but I relied on Sir Nicholas Geraldine—as I had reason to do,

* Forms of letters from preceding Kings of England to all ranks of their subjects.

since, if he knows anything, he could not, I thought, be ignorant of these matters—and he trusted two of his countrymen, who have, I fear, made improper advantages. Sir Nicholas directed them in everything to obey Cameron's orders, but he is, I suppose, altogether as unskilful in these things as I am. For the future I must desire to be entirely excused from meddling in such money matters, which I do not at all understand. I am afraid the ten thousand livres lodged at Waters' hands for such purposes will be pretty near exhausted; but then, out of that sum a ship will be purchased and ready for service should occasion require, or, should there be none, may be parted with again at near the price for which it was bought.

I directed only 200, not 400, livres to be paid to the two to supply an immediate exigence, being very unwilling to meddle even thus far, and having always invariably spoken the language you mention to those who applied to me on that head, and being very desirous of ever continuing on the same foot in that respect.

I have had a message from Sir Harry Goring to the same purpose with what you mention out of his letter. He and General Dillon, &c., are very busy in contriving somewhat which, if not watched, will prove of no, or of mischievous, consequence. They have sent an express four days ago to Lord North, pressing his coming to France. I found out what they were doing, and took care to write largely to Lord North, by the same messenger, what I apprehend may tend to preserve him from rash and ill-judged measures into which the Duke of Mar will, if he possibly can, spirit them up; though they would have it believed that he is out of their secret and distrusted by them, which is an errant farce. I have reason to think another messenger is gone from them to England.

However, the point of Scotland is an object that deserves the most serious attention, and in which, if it can be brought to bear, all hands and measures ought to be employed. They who are busy here will probably press an attempt in England purely on that bottom, and will think they have ground enough to stand upon in order to it, even without foreign assistance. That is far from being clear to me. Lord Orrery, when he comes over in autumn, will be of use to clear it, and you will be pleased also to know the Duke of Wharton's sense of it, which

you may learn without proposing it to him directly as a scheme, but by way of general inquiry concerning the present state and disposition of England.

The supposition I made as to the Duke of Bourbon is not altogether improbable, especially if you take in—to the resentments of Spain and the universal murmurs at home—what I sent you lately about the Bishop of Frejus' cap, which I apprehend to have been set forward not without his privity. It is plain what is aimed at by that measure. The Duke of Orleans, I think, appears to be in the secret of it. Should the Duke of Orleans succeed in what he aims at, will not M. Le Blanc be a person chiefly employed and trusted? And is there any reason to doubt of his good intentions towards the King? But these are speculations at a distance—but I was willing to say somewhat to every part of your two letters; and having done so, I conclude for the present with assurances of my being, sir, &c.

Murray and Daniel O'Brien will not return time enough from their visit for me to say anything upon the subject of it this post. I have some faint hopes that the Bishop of Frejus may write by Mr. Murray and discover a little by the tenour of his letter what he would be at, and for that reason have been of opinion that he should have this early notice of Mr. Murray's motions, that he may have time to recollect himself and consider what message he may have to send by him.

I find, after all, the two gentlemen are still here at Paris.*

At last, and to the intense satisfaction of the over anxious minister, tidings came from the Austrian capital, and about the same time came back to him his missing letter from the French post-office, with the information that its not having been forwarded was caused by its not having been prepaid. The gratification of hearing from his valued correspondent lessened the mortification of this miscarriage. It was not merely that the Duke was a genial spirit with whom it was a special enjoyment to inter-

* Stuart Papers.

change ideas. The Bishop was aware that he had information both from London and Vienna it was of the highest importance to the cause that his master should know. He was not disappointed; the Duke (August 8th) wrote that "the disaffection of the common people increases daily in England," adding the welcome assurance "that many considerable men in England are still sincerely attached to the King and his cause, and labour with more industry and assiduity than ever in promoting of his Majesty's interest." Then he enters into a little secret history respecting a few of the waverers and seceders among the leading Jacobites:—

> But I wish I could leave this head without being obliged to make my compliments of condolence for the inconstancy of poor Bathurst, who has quite left his old friends, and seems to be the entire pupil of Bolingbroke and Harcourt. *Heu Pietas! Heu prisca fides!* I wish Lord Gore does not fall into the same snare before he knows where he is. They have already prevailed upon him to preach up despair in all companies; and such a doctrine is poison to honest minds that are subject to fear. Sir William Windham is the secret spring of this desertion, or at least lukewarmness, in men of better sense than himself; and neither of these gentlemen whom I have mentioned are ever at present consulted in, or entrusted with, any business whatever.*

To be forewarned is specially to be forearmed in diplomacy, and the minister could not fail to make a suggestive mark against the names of these uncertain adherents—rats who, when leaving the sinking ship, might scuttle it if not sharply looked after. But there were gains as well as losses to comment upon; and the Bishop in his reply makes the head of

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* Stuart Papers.

a ducal house already referred to, counterbalance the losses the party might anticipate. In other respects the letter will be found full of preparations for business likely to enable the younger diplomatist to succeed in his mission.

The Duke had contrived to obtain an introduction to the Imperial Chancellor. According to his own account, he improved his opportunity till he could affirm that he was "in great confidence with Count Zinzendorf, who is Prime Minister here, and is at present the greatest enemy to George and his family." He adds, "I shall have the pleasure of delivering a memorial to the Emperor, to which I have reason to think I shall have a favourable answer. As soon as that is over you shall hear more particularly from me." Such statements made the minister look eagerly for the promised communication, and the delay that occurred in its transmission could scarcely fail of suggesting misgivings that all at Vienna was not quite so promising as the negotiator had endeavoured to make it appear.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF WHARTON.

August 26, 1725.

Sir,

Both your letters, of August 2 and 8, reached me safe, and both, I need not tell you, were welcome. Mine to you of July 11 lay in the post-house here, for want of my franking it to the frontier, and from thence I have lately received it. The latter clause of it is the only one that deserves your perusal. However, for the sake of that, and to show you that I was willing to lose no time, though I have happened to lose a great deal, I transmit the whole to you. I am in a little pain as to this reaching you, because the person under whose cover it comes [Tom Sheridan] is by this time, I know well, upon his

remove from your parts; but I hope, being aware of this, he leaves instructions behind him for somebody to open any packet that comes from hence to him, and deliver yours to you. Under this view I shall venture at saying something to you in this; though not so much as I would if I were thoroughly at ease as to the conveyance.

This is the last time I shall write to you this way, because I find the two gentlemen [the Papal Nuncios] made use of to transmit our letters backwards and forwards, are not regular correspondents, nor upon such a foot as to be willing to convey. At least this is the case of the person here, and, therefore, I must in decency trouble him no further than once for all to settle by his means our cypher and method of address. It is troublesome to use your syllable cypher, without adding to it another of names which will often shorten the work, and such a case therefore I now send you.

You may safely send anything that you write in those two cyphers by the common post, directing it, without any cover, *à Monsieur Monsieur Jones, vis à vis la Fontaine de Carmelites, Rue et Fauxbourg St. Jacques, pour faire tenir à Monsieur Vildoc, à Paris*, enclosing a letter à Monsieur Andrews or Malberb. While there is no rupture between the two nations, there is no manner of danger in this method of conveyance. On the other side you will be pleased to let me know under what banker's cover at Vienna I must direct to you by the name of "Arnold," which you may impart by the same method you sent your last, if for once more you can employ the nuncio with you, and convey your letter easily to him after Sheridan shall be gone; but in that case you must put mine under a cover "à Monsieur O'Brien, à Paris," who is known to the nuncio here, as I am not, nor desire to be, for many reasons. So much for preliminaries.

I am sorry to say your account of the state of things in that country you left, is not news to me. I have heard of it from several hands, and shall have still ampler accounts in a conversation I am to have to-morrow with Mr. Phillips.* Since the desertion has begun, and will certainly go on, nobody being left on the spot to resist it, the more quickly the steps can be taken

* Travelling tutor to the Duke of Beaufort.

towards obviating the consequences of it the better, that so, that degree of spirit now remaining may not be checked and extinguished before the time of action comes. And yet the opportunity cannot possibly be ripened or wisely laid hold of till some foreign power is induced to lend its assistance, and in so effectual a manner as to convince those at home that any attempt they shall make for their liberties will not be insecure nor fail of success. Too many raw and rash schemes have been already formed, which, had they been executed, would have ruined those for whose sakes they were entered into, and strengthened the hands of their enemies. And that effect, though not executed in good measure, they had the treacherous underhand discoveries that were previously made of them, I need not say by whom. That matter is no secret at present. Since my coming over, such ample proofs of it have appeared to me, as are not to be resisted. Let, therefore, the next attempt be upon a sure foot, and with the utmost secrecy. I will answer for it that nothing imparted to me here, shall break out, for I use no hands but such as I can entirely depend on.*

The only Power of which there is at present any good hope is that of your Court, wherein also that of Spain is included. How happily are you situated in that respect? And how much may we owe to your address and diligence? Get into Ripperda's acquaintance if you can possibly, and find it will give no jealousy to Zinzendorf. Nothing is to be expected from hence [France]. There is not the least disposition in this Court to favour the King's cause, which surely should induce those where you are the more heartily to espouse it. I shall long to hear the event of your memorial, but wonder how matters could have been so soon ripened so as to enable you to present one.

When once the negotiation begins to work, you will be furnished with the topics fittest to be urged and insisted on; and I can assure you there are such to be offered as it is highly probable will be relished. But of these things you will hear from Rome. Nothing can please me more than that expression that you will do your duty as a subject to your Prince, and as an Englishman to your country. He that carries these two

* How far this opinion was correct will be shown presently.

things together in every step he takes, and never divides the interest of the one from the other, cannot well miscarry. Depend upon my seconding you in everything which tends to the joint good in both. This is the point from which I will never vary. The King is possessed with a just sense of all your noble qualifications; exert them for his services. Never man had a fairer field for action assigned him. *Spartam quam nactus es, orna:* and though you made so significant a figure at home, let the world be convinced that you can yet be more useful abroad.

Will you give me leave to put you in mind that your success will, in great measure, depend upon the coolness of mind in which you shall preserve yourself. *Hic mos est, multis urgere cululli*s. He that can hear that sort of question, especially in that clime—*commissum que teget jam vino tortis*—is superior to all others. Pardon me, sir, for this pedantry; you led the way to it, by the Latin at the end of your second letter. Surely I have read those lines in some of Tully's Epistles. If I have not, I have read none better there. I wish the application were as proper as the Latin is excellent; it would make me amends for all I have suffered, could I be sure that the reflection belongs to me.

Now I am in this learned way permit me to recommend one book to you—Cardinal D'Ossat's Letters. Be pleased to read them, if you can light on them where you are, as the justest model of acting and writing in all matters of negotiation. There is a late French edition of those Letters, by Amelot de la Houssage, in two quartoes, and a Dutch one, with the same notes, in octavo. If you can get either of them I am very sure you will find in those letters something that will please you wonderfully—equal entertainment and instruction—a mixture of wisdom and honesty, both in the height. But enough of this matter. Nor will I venture any further at present upon other matters till I hear that this comes safely to hand. Believe me ever, with the truest respect, sir, your very faithful and obedient servant, ANDREWS.

If Sheridan has given you another cypher of names, as I am told he should be ordered to do, be pleased to reconvey this by the same channel.*

* Stuart Papers.

The course of politics did not give much satisfaction to the anxious minister, notwithstanding that symptoms of a hostile confederation against Great Britain and her allies became more manifest. France and Prussia kept drawing closer to England, while the intentions of the Czarina, of the Emperor, of the King, or more properly the Queen of Spain, as far as they affected the Pretender, were not permitted to transpire. Neither of the Dukes Ormonde and Wharton appeared to be making much progress: if they did, they contrived to keep their success to themselves. All that could be learnt in Paris was forwarded to Rome as soon as the overworked negotiator had rallied from one of his distressing attacks.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

September 17, 1725.

Sir,

I have been extremely ill, and labouring under three several indispositions, of which one, the stone, still gives me a great deal of uneasiness; nor should I have ventured to have written even this post, notwithstanding the several despatches I have received from you which remain unanswered, but that O'Brien, being out of the way at Fontainebleau, and not being likely to return time enough to write by this post, I force myself to say somewhat by it, rather than let it go away without carrying letters from either of us. O'Brien is well employed where he is, and I believe with success, in relation to the money matters he solicits, and will, I doubt not, be able, by the next post, to give you a good account of them; but I shall have no opportunity this day or two to deliver him his packet that came by last post, or to employ him as directed. As soon as he returns no time shall be lost, but what my infirmities necessarily take up, which will grow, I fear, every day more and more upon me. The papers at Cameron's return shall be sent by

him or delivered up here, as far as I understand the directions given in yours of August 15, which I wish were a little more explicit and particular; for I am very desirous to have nothing in my custody, and to distribute what I now have into the hands that shall be thought most proper to receive them.

I forbear to enter into several particulars till I am more capable of thinking and writing, especially in cypher. In general I cannot but observe that the new alliance between France, England, and Prussia, which was certainly signed here the 14th, seems to promise that this juncture is every way favourable for pressing the Emperor, who seems to be openly struck at, and must necessarily change his measures. Lord Townshend has been at the Hague to solicit the States of Holland to join, upon the foot of suppressing the Ostend Company. This is open and barefaced, and cannot surely but work right. If the Empress of Muscovy joins in the general, she will join also in the particular scheme, and what then can hinder the consequences? In the mean time, if the other matter in agitation here should succeed—of which I hope to give the King some account either by this or at farthest by next post—France will be in confusion, incapable, and perhaps unwilling, to assist the Duke of Hanover. I need not explain myself on that article; the reasons are pretty obvious, and very encouraging. That trifle of a cap, if it hits right, may possibly give a turn to the affairs of Europe, and set England upon its true basis. But I will not anticipate what is to be said on that affair, after I have looked a little further into it, as I every moment expect an opportunity.

All seems to go right in Scotland, and to tally with what is working elsewhere; but no reflections of that kind can securely be relied on till we see Cameron. Lord Orrery's answer is the very truth. You know I have a late and sure opportunity of informing myself of the true situation of those affairs, and therefore nothing must be depended on from thence without help from abroad, let circumstances in the neighbourhood be never so favourable.

Lord Lansdowne is gone, or going, to the seaside, as is said to meet his lady, but I verily believe to go, or prepare matters for his going, into England, and I doubt not but the Duke of Mar will follow him as soon as he can. The transmitting those

vindications is with a view of preparing his way. Need that memorial be made any longer a secret in England when he makes none of it in Scotland? More when I am more able. For the present, adieu!

O'Brien is returned unexpected, and will write by this post himself. The Duke de la Force cannot come to me till to-morrow night, and therefore I cannot write to the King on that affair by that post. He may depend upon it that the thing springs from M. de Frejus himself, and I have some hopes to obtain somewhat express on that head according to his instructions. To-morrow I shall be able to pass a more clear judgment of it. I desire a copy of this letter, being not able to take one myself.*

The continued silence of the ducal envoy at Vienna was a great discouragement to the plenipotentiary at Paris, and perplexed him to account for it; nor was the quiet manner in which Marshal Wade was disarming the Highlanders, beginning with the Clan Mackenzie, likely to reassure him. Their chief was still coquetting with his nominal sovereign, and some expectations were created by this. There is nothing, however, very alluring in the little prospect Atterbury endeavours to hold out.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Paris, September 24, 1725.

Sir,

With much ado I was able to write to you last post, though without copying my letter. I am a little better this post, and will endeavour, having finished a letter to the King and copied it, to write another to you: and as long a one as my pains and infirmities will give me leave to write. I begin by telling you my surprise at my having heard nothing from the Duke of Wharton since his promise of writing largely to me, of which I informed you. He has not so much as owned the receipt of my last, which went by the nuncio's packet, under

* Stuart Papers.

cover to Mr. Sheridan. I should be glad to see his memorial, not merely out of curiosity, but to enable me to judge a little of what we may expect from his future conduct. There are letters from the Duke of Richelieu here, in which he says he is well acquainted with him. One Butler has been with me from him but seems not to have been entrusted by him with anything of consequence. I wish him success, for he is on the very spot of business from whence all the good news we expect must probably come. I am clear in transmitting to England the Duke of Mar's memorial, because I doubt not but he has sent it to Scotland without his letter to the Duke of Orleans, by which the King is cleared as no ways privy to it, and that is too tender a point to be left to the hazard of not being well understood. I shall be better able to judge what is to be done when I see the abstract you mention. I heard from the Duke of Ormonde on Saturday, but his letter has nothing in it. By some hints I have received before, and intimated to you, I perceive things are not right in that quarter, but what the bottom of the matter is I know not, only sure I am that there are people everywhere at work to do all the mischief they possibly can. They got some account, I suppose, of some little uneasiness the Duke of Ormonde might be under, and improved it into what you saw printed in the newspapers. O'Brien has begun to execute his commission, and will push the thing. He himself I suppose will by this post give you an account of the steps he has taken. I thought it proper that he should send a copy of his powers as well as of the papers wanting to General Dillon, in order, if it were possible, to awaken him; and I think it has done it, though how long the effect will last is the question.

Lord Seaforth has sent me word he will be with me this week, and seems to be under some remorse as to his measures, and apprehensive that he shall be crushed between two sides, and utterly lose his reputation, as well as fail in the views he proposed to himself. If he comes I shall treat him with civility, but reserve, and tell him, which is true, that my growing infirmities make it necessary for me to contract my sphere of action, and not meddle much in affairs to which I am so much a stranger, and have no prospect of managing with success or satisfaction. Lord Seaforth's opinion is that they [the English Government] will go no further this season, than the disarming the Mackenzies,

Macdonalds, and Clanronalds; but since Wade has made his quarters at Seaforth's house, I imagine he intends to go on further in executing his commission, and send out his summons to places at a greater distance, as long as ever the season will favour their being obeyed.

If things continue as they are, and Cameron brings good news, I need not say of what importance it will be to fix soon on vigorous measures—if any can be fixed on without the assurance of some foreign assistance. Without that, it is certain England will not stir, nor, in my judgment, will a small force be sufficient to encourage them; and I believe when Lord Orrery comes he will be of the same opinion. Lest I should mistake, I will send by Cameron all the papers I have, even the full power the King lately sent me.

The harvest is, I think, plainly ripe in Scotland, if other things could be brought to concur. Wade has been able to bring but 2,000 men to Inverness, by reason of the apprehension they are under of stirs in the Lowlands.

What is to be done with the ship at its return? I have told you I cannot be useful in any such matters. As to the public discourse which has been here concerning matters which ought to have been kept private, on many accounts, I shall not touch that matter now, but when I do, it will appear to have been attended with the most mischievous consequences, and such as cannot easily, if at all, be retrieved. I forbear to say more, and am glad I have been able to get to the end of this second long letter. —Believe me, sir, &c.*

The Minister's anxiety respecting his communications with the Austrian capital increased, and he addressed, Sept. 24, a short note to the Duke, acquainting him with the letter he had written, and the channel by which it had been conveyed. Three days afterwards a letter reached him, that appears to have been an extraordinary period on its route; but he did not waste time in commenting on a circumstance so suspicious. He wrote in reply:—

* Stuart Papers.

Bishop Atterbury to the Duke of Wharton.

My Lord, Oct. 1st.

Your letter of September 1 reached me not here till September 29. How that came to pass, and where it staid, I have not yet learned; nor am I very solicitous, being determined—and, indeed, being obliged—no more to make use of that channel. Last week I sent you a letter according to one of the two addresses I received from Rome, and if I find it comes safely to your hands, I shall write the more freely for the future. In the mean time, permit me to congratulate you upon the successful steps you have hitherto made, and to wish, as I do most heartily, for your honour and the public good, that the end may be suitable to these beginnings.

Permit me only to add a line from an author you love, and which has never the less sense in it, because it is expressed in good language. *Crebro tibi vafer ille Siculus insusurret cantilenam illam suam.* I won't put the Greek, but his brother Quintus's translation of it—*Nervos atque artus esse sapientiæ, non temerè credere.**

Pardon me for supposing that you can have the least occasion for such a hint, after reading those words in your letter, "I shall soon be able to distinguish whether this court is inclined effectually to serve the King, or whether they will treat with us only to amuse us." I firmly depend upon you in that particular, but beg you withal not too soon to fix your opinion, though it should be supported by plain and convincing appearances, for at such a critical juncture there are sudden ebbs and flows of politics, and a few days' time may, in the steadiest court in the world, produce a change of measures, when their steps must—as the case now certainly is—depend upon those of their enemies, which are manifestly guided by the necessities they find themselves under, and will, therefore, be subject to great variations. One good ally added to the Emperor, France, &c., particularly the Czarina, will turn the scale, inspire new sentiments, and alter the whole scene of affairs; that is, it will change the views of interest upon which all turns, and will make that seem feasible to-morrow, which to-day seems otherwise. Therefore continue for God's sake on the spot where you are—at present the most promising

* Epicharmus. Νῆφε καὶ μίμνασ' ἀκίνητον· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

of all others—till you find the game absolutely desperate and beyond retrieve, which I hope and believe you will never find.

I know you are well instructed as to the Ostend Company—a point of great consequence—and, therefore, shall say nothing on that head. The true light into which you can put that matter must awaken and inspirit those you have to deal with. On the other point, the successions, I am no ways instructed myself, and shall, therefore, be silent. But, methinks, there is one thing so clear that nobody can miss seeing it. The English, at present, hold the balance of Europe. They are not shy of owning it—they boast of it both at home and abroad; nor is it a mere boast, for they say true. If so, what can be plainer than that, in order to change the balance, there is nothing requisite but changing the hand that holds it. The facility of doing that is the point to be thought on and laboured. Digest that point well—turn it every way in your thoughts—compare the difficulties and the remedies, neither disguising to your own mind, or to others, the one, nor over-rating the other; in short, convince your own self first, and then I am satisfied you will be able to convince those, whoever they are, that treat with you.

I question not but by this time you are well with Ripperda. Through that channel due infusions may be made, where they may prove of good use, and where none will be made—I am sorry to say it—unless by the means of those who are at a distance. 'Tis true the spring of the counsels of Spain now lies elsewhere; but the better they are instructed the more ready they will be to fall in with the measures that shall be contrived for them. Excuse these general reflections; when once I am sure that what is written reaches you safely and unopened, I shall be more particular. Perhaps the other address you sent to Rome will be the most secure. If you think so tell me, and I will, for the future—for the most part, at least—make use of it.

After repeating the address already given, the writer adds:—"Lord Orrery is to be here by the end of this month. Have you any commands for him, which you think it proper for me to impart?" He concludes with directions as to pre-postage.*

* Stuart Papers.

Long as the plenipotentiary had been kept waiting for a communication from this quarter, his patience was taxed to its limits before he heard again. The Duke's apparent negligence could not be attributed to any want of regard for the Bishop, for in the memorial he drew up for the Imperial Court, the injustice of his treatment by the Whig Government was insisted upon. He wrote:—

The ministry, determined to accomplish the destruction of the Bishop of Rochester, whose eloquence and power among the clergy and the two universities rendered him an obstacle to their wicked designs, unveiled the new method of Bills of Pains and Penalties. No evidence could be brought to support the charge against that prelate, but letters were produced, said, without proof, to be wrote by his order, pretended to be justly deciphered, without producing the key, and alleged to be stopped at the post office, without permitting an examination on that head. Thus fell that great man by forced constructions and improbable inuendoes. There are many cruel circumstances in that memorable affair, as may be seen in the protests of the House of Lords; and by this terrible method of punishing by laws *ex post facto*, and built upon the foundation of injustice, the greatest subjects of England have no security in innocence, but may at any time be sacrificed to the fury of the predominant faction. The prince upon the throne, whose consent was necessary to the passing this law, and consequently sate in the nature of a judge, condemned a bishop of the Church of England to banishment and confiscation, without enquiring into the state of the fact, or hearing anything in behalf of the accused person. The Bishop's penalties are most severe, and the more heavy that it is felony, which requires but one witness to convict, for any person whatsoever to correspond with him without a sign manual; neither can the crown pardon him.*

Atterbury's anger was rekindled against Lord Mar by his circulation of an explanation of his conduct while in the service of the Pretender, and the Bishop thus wrote:—

* Stuart Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

October 1, 1725.

Sir,

I thank you for the sight of Lord Mar's vindication, which is a very extraordinary piece. As far as I am acquainted with the matter of it, I find there is not a sincere line in it, from the one end to the other. It appears, I think, that he has not sent the letter with the scheme to Scotland, which surely should be sent after it by way of supplement into both kingdoms, that there may be no room to suppose the King's privity and consent to so dishonourable and mischievous a proposal. From this step it cannot be doubted but that he is determined to go further. The publishing those *three letters* * is a sure sign of it, which he would never have done without a view of going farther lengths. Lord Erskine, therefore, is soon going to Scotland, and Lady Mar to England; and nothing, I dare say, would keep Lord Mar here—for whom an Act of Parliament might be obtained as well as for Bolingbroke—but that this is the spot wherein he can do most mischief as things now stand, and best earn his appointments. He cannot indeed now lay plots in order to reveal them, nor peep anyways into what is doing; but he can raise jealousies, and scatter lies among those of the King's party here, and by that means break and divide them. And that seems to be the post at present assigned, a post in which the weakness, resentments, and jealousies of those who wish well to the cause, have rendered him more useful than he ever hoped to be, and given him advantages which he has made use of with sufficient diligence and malice. But this is a melancholy subject, on which I shall not now further explain myself.

I find his anger all centres in you, sir, and me; nobody else has the honour of being named as having any share in it. I know well what he means by that distinguishing favour, as far as I am concerned, and how he thinks it will operate; but am very easy and unconcerned as to the consequences of it. He does not really believe what he says in my respect to be true, or if he does, has very bad intelligence. I never was a friend to those little narrow interested views which he mentions, and by which, when in credit, he was entirely guided. I like his example too

* Those used in the Bishop's trial.

little to be willing, if I were in any degree able, to follow it. 'Tis natural for him to suspect that in others which he practised himself, and practised only because he knew no better, and had no taste of doing good to his king and his country on any other foot but that of serving himself by the means of it. I abhor his maxims and despise his politics, which if I mistake not do now run very low and carry evident marks of his distrusting the game he has hitherto played, and of seeing the necessity he will soon be under of taking refuge in a new one. The sooner that happens in my opinion the better; and it might have been the case ere now had not some people unwisely and meanly lent him their help towards standing his ground.

I have no material objections to what you have said in your reply, and highly approve the short recapitulation you have made at the end of it. Some little unexactness there is in what relates to me, but of no consequence. The three letters were signed by three different cypher names, and I do not at present remember whether his designed for me were directed under any one of them. It is news to me that Churchill outrid the post, though it is probable he did, because he came away in a day or two after those letters were intercepted, and was despatched on that very account. The letter he carried from Lord Carteret, &c., put Mar in mind of the favours he had for some years received from King George, and of his just expectation that Mar would at that juncture make him suitable returns, which is a very strong circumstance that deserves not to be hid.

I am not sure that Churchill told Mar, &c., of the interception, but believe he did, because I put it strongly to Lord Mar myself, and he did not deny it. But these things I suppose were written to you from hence at the time, and therefore you have better vouchers for them. There is one thing which I writ to you about—his private visits to Churchill without the privity of Dillon, &c., and of a little note or two left in his bundles by which I discovered it. I easily guess the reasons why you did not mention it. For myself, I have not had time to consider what is fit to be done by me in the case—nor need I be in haste after what you have said. Indeed, my frequent and growing infirmities will not suffer me to enter into any long task of that kind, and the restraint the King has laid himself as to furnishing nothing that may tend to accuse Lord Mar—a resolution which

I cannot but on many accounts approve—naturally shortens the work, though there be still room enough to show him in miniature and in his proper colours, if one were not checked a little by reflecting what use might probably be made of such an attack by those who, one would suspect, should rather join in it. But this must keep cool to another time, that I may have room by this post to answer the rest of your letter.

I have heard at last from the Duke of Wharton by a letter of September 1, which reached me not till the 29th. It came I suppose by the Pope's minister directed to Mr. Murray, but where it lay so long by the way I know not. I have written him word that till I am sure of letters going more speedily and safely I cannot be very particular with him. However, in general reflections I have not been wanting. One passage of his letter I was pleased with, and verily believe he will be as good as his word. [The sentence already quoted.]

I have begged him on this not to decide too soon, but to wait a little, notwithstanding any unpromising appearances, since at such a juncture a few days and some new event that may arise may occasion and render reasonable new resolutions and new measures.

The new alliance you mention is fact—only Denmark is not in it. It must be observed how that and the declaration made by England to the King of Spain and the Emperor, about the South Sea article in their treaty, will work. The dose seems to me to be pretty strong, and the patient must be a little lethargic if it does not operate, unless he waits for some concurring transactions now on the anvil, and forbears to declare himself till it be finished.

I am extremely glad of the resolution the King has taken with regard to what he received from the King of France's confessor. 'Tis a step agreeable to his dignity and to his interest; for while they see he will suffer himself to be dealt with, they will certainly deal with him in that manner; and think the little instance of notice they do him in his private affairs sufficient to induce him to treat on what foot they please, and can best conceal or disown upon occasion. If I mistake not, in the short account you gave me of the confessor's letter, there are some offers of this kind hinted and assurances given in no very becoming a manner. I have heard nothing more of

the cap yet, but am told I soon shall. If I do not, and the manner of making that proposal becomes agreeable and such as may be relied on, perhaps the King may venture to proceed in it. If I do not, nothing is risked but what has been hitherto done, and perhaps the Bishop of Frejus will look upon himself as in some measure obliged, though the thing should go no farther.

The truth of Don Carlos's journey [to Vienna] was assured to me in such strong terms from Spain, and by one that does not use to be positive on the like occasions, that I cannot doubt of its being then intended there, whatever accidents may happen to prevent or delay it. I am sorry Ripperda and Alberoni are in no better terms, but hope that the Duke of Wharton, now the hint is given him, will pursue it successfully even without that assistance. I find by his letter he is intent upon the two points you mention, and hope you have set that of the Ostend Company in a due light to him, because it is a little more out of his way than some other topics are, and yet, if I mistake not, an argument of peculiar force with those he has to deal with.

O'Brien pursues Dillon and Mar as keenly as decency will admit. Dillon took refuge in the bundle wherein eight nameless papers were enclosed, so in order to make the charge clear we were forced to open the box and that bundle, and found some of them—indeed the same with which Mar was charged: for the rest he or Dillon remain answerable, or for an account of the manner in which they have disposed of them. I inclose a list I took of the papers contained in bundle No. 5, which, though said to be nine, are really but eight, one of them not being endorsed, but folded in another to which it belonged, and separated from it when Murray opened that bundle, in order, I suppose, to transmit an account of what was contained in it, which therefore I suppose you already have, and should have transmitted to us. And yet, by your charging Mar still with these very papers, it should seem you have not. O'Brien, I suppose, will explain this matter more clearly, and give a good account—as I am glad he can—of one of the money affairs, in which it is plain that they should be pressed, since the reason is evident why they are so complying.

As to the Duke of Ormonde, he does not, I believe, expect very long and particular accounts, and therefore your trouble in

keeping up the correspondence with him need not be great, so it be repeated more frequently. As he enters into no reasonings with you, he will expect none from you, but short facts only, which he may communicate to those that resort to him, and now and then some which he may be desired not to communicate, but keep to himself. Excuse me for this freedom. I only guess, but am not sure, that I am in the right in my conjectures upon it. The Court of Madrid, it is plain, are entirely upon the reserve to him, and if he thinks you at Rome are so too, it may a little mortify him. I did not send him your letter, which came with the rest by the Chevalier [Geraldine], because that affair which was one and the chief subject of it blowing over, I was not willing to enter into the particular reasons of what had happened with him, nor to state things so largely as was necessary on that head, in order to inform him of what was past, and therefore needless to be known. So that letter will come back with the rest when Cameron returns, of whom I hear nothing; nor am I displeased that I do, because he would not probably stay where he is—especially being furnished as he is with a convenience to get off—unless it were to good purpose.

The last Paris Gazette has loaded Lord Seaforth terribly, and, I believe, designedly. I hear nothing as yet from him, notwithstanding his message. Do you know that one Kennett, a Jesuit, his wife's brother, has the chief credit with him, and is supposed to have influence upon him in the greatest affairs. I have some reason from my observations to judge that that whole body of men are not the King's friends, and therefore the employing one of them to negotiate with him on so nice a point was the more extraordinary, and should with so much the more caution be guarded against.*

One or two paragraphs of no importance form the conclusion. A week later the writer indited another despatch to the Secretary of State on many of the same topics. The affair of the Cardinal's hat did not make much progress, the Bishop of Frejus diplomatically insisting on remaining in the back-

* Stuart Papers.

ground while his friends were exerting their interest in his behalf, till Atterbury, who saw through the French prelate, required a distinct proposal from him to enable James to appeal to the Pope with proper credentials—a step the King completely approved of in a letter to his minister, dated October 9th—"You did very right to insist on my wanting what was requisite to induce the Pope to take such a step."

The Duke of Wharton did not long remain at the Imperial Court after he had been joined by Sir John Græme. He there flashed for a while like a meteor, but gained more admirers of his eminently social qualifications than useful friends to his master's cause. He wrote to Rome several times, but the anxious expectant at Paris received no tidings from him to the end of the year. Not knowing what eccentric course he might be taking, this suspicious silence at a very critical period added largely to the innumerable perplexities of the Bishop's position, and, no doubt, aggravated the disorder from which he suffered so severely. Suddenly the Duke quitted the Austrian capital, to shine with the same fitful radiance in another and not less brilliant sphere.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ROYAL RIVALS.

The Bishops of Rochester and of Frejus—The Earl of Dunbar and his Pupil—Intention of making the Pretender a Pensioner of George I.—Mar's £3,000 a year from Walpole the First Part of the Settlement—Aggravating Conduct of Lord Dunbar—The Bishop's Complaint—James writes to soothe his Irritation—Clementina and Lady Inverness—The Princess objects to Lord Dunbar, quits her Husband's House, and enters a Convent—Account given by James of the Scandal—The Bishop's View of the Case—A proposed Journey to Milan—The Duke of Wharton at Madrid—The Pretender at Rome—His Cabinet in the Pay of Walpole—The Minister's great Dodges—Death of George I.—His Attentions to the Universities.

THERE were several motives likely to urge James to conciliate the Bishop of Frejus, whose increasing influence over Louis XV. threatened a speedy termination to the rule of the Duke of Bourbon. The most urgent was his desire to get a settlement of the fortune that had been promised him on his marriage; but the doubtful aspect of the French court did not encourage him to expect much either from Louis or his favourite counsellor. James would not exercise his influence at Rome unless he received a written appeal for it from the candidate for princely honours, as an authority for his troubling his Holiness. On this point the French

Bishop still displayed a diplomatic hesitation. The uncertain state of foreign affairs still embarrassed the English episcopal minister, and he was further annoyed by the malicious folly of the new Earl of Dunbar, whose occupation of "coach" to a child of five years old had left him leisure to write to Paris offensive representations. The unhappy state of the little court of James and Clementina was not improved by his addition to it.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

October 8th, 1725.

Sir,

O'Brien has the two letters. One of them—that to the Bishop of Frejus—comes seasonably to give him an opportunity—if he has courage to make use of it—towards insinuating something of his mind in his answers to the King which may give the handle desired. I have had a farther account of that matter, and find it sticks at the point of writing, and if the incident does not happen to remove the difficulty, I scarce think I shall hear any more of it.

I have heard nothing from the Duke of Wharton since September 1, and I told you how long that lay before it reached me. I find since that it was lodged a great while in the hands of the Pope's minister here, but draw no consequences from it. The outward cover perhaps embarrassed him, and so he did not send it soon to O'Brien. My desire of seeing the memorial is only to enable me to form a judgment of the Duke's way of thinking and manner of application, and of the hopes one may have of his succeeding in the future steps he shall make. But that, perhaps, as far as it relates to me, may be matter rather of curiosity than use.

However that may be, the court of Vienna seems to be at present the chief, if not the only, object that deserves reflection. Captain Hay, I fear, will bring no good news from Petersburg. Bestacheff's going to England, and Dunbarton to Sweden, portends none, this being one of the preliminaries on which the late Czar insisted, in order to an accommodation, when France

pressed it so warmly upon him. I wish Cameron may be more fortunate in his affair, but doubt it, by reason of Lord Seaforth, who has good intelligence from thence, not keeping his word with me. One thing the last post brings from Spain, which seems a little encouraging, though no use of that kind be made of it in the letter that brings it—the Duke of Ormonde has hired a house in the neighbourhood of Ildefonso, that he may be always there when the court is. If this be by direction, it means something. The Infant Don Carlos going to Vienna is a circumstance I was not acquainted with. I suppose, if so, he takes it in his way towards Florence, where France is at present very busy. France marching troops into Dauphiny gives no alarm here. Nor is it allowed to be true in such a manner as to deserve notice. It may be true for all that, for the people here are most contentedly and merrily ignorant in such cases.

I am glad the Prince of Wales takes the change of hands so easily. 'Tis an early and promising sign of manly and noble inclinations, which every year to come I hope will verify.* The news you sent me on that head has not for a long time been news here. It was known—all but the particular title of Dunbar—before Mr. Murray left this place, and from those to whom the King's and his own letters on that head were communicated by him; though the first letter of the King I remember directed that the secret should be strictly kept; perhaps he might have leave afterwards to impart it. However that be, he was not three days gone from hence when it was the public discourse of all the English at Paris, not as a conjecture, but a certainty. The Duke of Mar in particular spoke of it freely, and with assurance—you may imagine after what manner. I wish this had been the only instance wherein matters which should have been hid carefully and stifled in the birth, were made public to the great detriment of the King's affairs, as will soon appear when I have ease and health enough to put some facts in a proper light, which, though an ungrateful work, yet must be done. At present I am so tormented with the pains of the stone as not to be able to go through with it. Perhaps by the succeeding posts you may have less employment for me, and I less pain and more leisure.

* The compliment is a matter of course; the Bishop must have recollected the text showing the result of the blind leading the blind.

What I said to you in Panton's melancholy case I was in hopes would have had some effect, having never interposed for any person besides him. Though I think him very capable of discharging some commissions of consequence, yet I know not at present where and how he can be employed in that manner, of which the King is the best and only judge; and to him I leave it, being not used to press anything I offer after I have once received an answer which shows it is not welcome.—I am, sir, &c.

Enclosed was a communication from one of the Lochiels, announcing the arrival of Allan Cameron in Scotland, August 26. The Bishop, after naming this, adds:—

I observe the Duke of Mar in his narrative has brought in General Dillon, with his own consent, I suppose, for a share of everything; but Lord Lansdowne is covered, and his name concealed, even where the letter of August 13th, 1722, with which Lord Lansdowne must have furnished him [Mar], is produced. When I had the twelve bundles in my hands—as I had for seven or eight days—I might have copied what I would, for I was under no restraint from the person who communicated them to me; but I should not have thought it honourable without his express leave to have taken full copies, or made observations in writing upon them; and therefore I have little of that kind to produce but by memory only. But sure I am *I read several letters, writ not only in January*, 1720, *recommending a zealous interposition for procuring to the King, in a private but sure manner, an ample subsistence from the Duke of Hanover, at the close of the treaty.* This I take to be the worst and most dangerous step that ever Mar made, and which, if he could have compassed it, would have recommended him most to his friends on the other side;* and methinks it should be cleared, if there be no objections—which do not appear—against entering further into it. For let him slide over it as he pleases, it was impossible that a payment could have continued a secret; and when it appeared, it would have been understood as an equivalent agreed upon and

* Walpole and Co. As every man had his price, the Pretender was supposed to have his.

accepted in lieu of the right of possession. Nor could any other reasonable interpretation have been made of it. And therefore he would well have deserved his own pension—which he received in part about that time—could he have procured this also, which might have been attended with such consequences, for another.

I mistook in thinking the letter was not sent to Scotland with the scheme. That appears not by the abstract of the narrative, but by a marginal note only, which I overlooked. All this I write in pain, and therefore not perhaps with as much clearness as I ought to do, and I must cease to add some other reflections. I have not showed the paper itself, but have owned it to several my knowledge of such a paper transmitted to Scotland, wherein Mar, to vindicate himself, has ventured to publish several letters of the King—a step which, if I mistake not, even Lord Bolingbroke himself, when he was under his keenest resentments, did not think fit to take.

There can be no doubt that all the Duke of Mar has writ passed the view of the Triumvirate.*

The plenipotentiary was much too honest for his employment, but his indignation at the intrigues of James's late *employé* was apparently thrown away. The uncertain state of the Pretender's relations with foreign courts, and the double dealing of Lord Seaforth, also excited the minister's uneasiness. He had received a communication from Allan Cameron describing the condition in which he found the Highlands, and the traces he had come upon of the understanding between the head of the Clan Mackenzie and the English Government. In addition to these discouragements was the prolonged absence of information from Vienna and Madrid, and the irritation created by the insulting conduct of the Governor of "the Young Pretender," as he began to be styled.

* Stuart Papers.

There can be no doubt that Murray looked upon this appointment as humiliating to the Bishop (who might naturally have supposed himself better qualified for the post), and betrayed his little mind by an offensive mode of exhibiting his exultation to some of his cronies in Paris—O'Brien, whose interest he had promised to advance at Rome, more especially. The Bishop resented this, and, as will be seen, made it the subject of a formal complaint to James:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Sir, Paris, October 15, 1725.

I see not anything in yours of September 26 which requires an answer. However, my pains not being very troublesome to me to-day, I make use of the post to say what offers on the subject of your letter, and on some other occasions. Indeed, I promised O'Brien, who is gone to Fontainebleau—you guess on what errand—to excuse his not writing by this post; though perhaps he may return soon enough this evening to speak for himself.

You may remember the thoughts I had of Prince Kurakin's turn. A late conversation that O'Brien had with him has verified them; for therein the Prince frankly affirmed his opinion that the true interest of Muscovy was and is to be in strict alliance with England and France: and this he said with such an air as showed that he not only hoped that such should be the case, but thought he himself had been instrumental in promoting it, as I verily believe he has been, and will remarkably be, whenever it happens. He has the secret of his Court. The other rather speaks his wishes than from any sound knowledge or judgment of affairs, though I agree that his acquaintance, nevertheless, is not to be neglected, provided his opinions be not depended on. He has been out in every one of them, as well as in most of his representations of fact during this whole summer. If Bestacheff goes to England, &c., as the Paris Gazette peremptorily says, that point is, in my apprehension, decisive; and all the rest will probably follow. And should that new alliance take place, I doubt it would so far intimidate the Emperor as to

make him lay aside all thoughts of quarrelling. Every stone is moved to bring the States of Holland into the same measure, but they are wary, and take very slow steps in the case. However, at present, they seem a little to lean that way for the sake of the Ostend Company and the affair of Thorn. If they dip themselves it will be upon very sure grounds, and when they foresee the success of the game without running hazards or spending money; and, therefore, while they are in suspense which way to turn, we may judge that it is not very clear which side has the advantage.

The paper you speak of, Lord Seaforth, who has made me two several visits in one day, says is a fiction—not being subscribed.* I do not perfectly credit him, knowing in what state of mind he is, and how well disposed to that side of the question; and yet it has not made noise enough, either abroad or at home, or been followed with such consequences as it would have been if abetted by numbers. It does not appear by the proceedings of General Wade—even making some abatements for Seaforth's representation of them—that any great regard has been paid to it. What I sent you last post shews that we can scarce expect Allan Cameron yet awhile; but when he comes we shall know all, and till he comes we shall know nothing surely. Lord Seaforth's sister, a lady of an excellent character, is fixed in my neighbourhood, and, therefore, I reckon I shall see him sometimes. At present nothing has passed between us of moment, beside gentle reproaches on one side and lame excuses on the other, with faint protests of future service.

I have not heard a word from the Duke of Wharton since Sir John Græme joined him. His last letter to me was of September 1. I have written three to him since, and one or two before, of which I have no manner of account that they came to hand, and suspect, therefore, that there may be some foul play, and shall cease writing till I am very sure of the contrary.

There is one remarkable omission in the Duke of Mar's paper—of an article on which I had laid great stress in my conversation with him, after I had seen his papers. It was that of a general indemnity, which he professedly laboured in several of them to procure, and that at distant periods of time; which

* General Wade's letter to Cameron of Lochiel, announcing the submission of the Clan Mackenzie, &c.

I told him plainly would strip the King of all the friends he had on this side of the water. He has forgot that part of his charge and slipped it over, I believe the rather because the English minister here has during this summer talked freely and openly of it as a thing intended; and Mar would not be found speaking the same language lest it should be thought to have been by concert between them, as to my conscience it is, if the minister be sincere in what he says.

I have heard nothing from the Duke of Ormonde the last two posts, and when I did hear the post before it was nothing. What I writ about his taking a house was from another man's letter whom I take to be a correspondent of Lord Dunbar's. That name puts me in mind of telling you, that I shall by this post or the next write to the King about his late usage of me, the inferences the world draws from it, and the use I think it becomes me to make of it. I have stayed thus long to give myself and him time coolly to reflect on what has passed. How it sits upon him I know not, nor am I curious to know; but for my part the more I think of it the less I like it. I am very sensible of your great and continued civilities to me, which I shall upon all occasions acknowledge, and ever remain, sir, &c.*

Tried as the minister's temper was by the conduct of some of those Jacobites with whom it was his ill fortune to be associated, and suffering constantly as he did from acute pain, it is scarcely fair to represent him as possessing a "peculiarly domineering and quarrelsome temper."† It is a mistake also to imagine that the Bishop was here reopening the quarrel that had with so much difficulty been settled. There cannot be a question that Murray had given fresh provocation, and Atterbury very properly determined not to endure it. The communication he made to James has not been preserved, but it is quite clear that it found "the King" in a position that pre-

* Stuart Papers. † Glover.

vented his attempting anything except writing a soothing answer. It was in these words:—

"JAMES III." TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Rome, November 2, 1725.

I was very glad to see from your letter of the 15th October, that your health was so much better as to allow you to write even upon subjects disagreeable both to you and to me; and I hope you are thoroughly persuaded of the great value and esteem I have for you, and the justice I do to your character in every respect. I could not but be uneasy when I discovered that a difference had again arisen betwixt you and Lord Dunbar after I had resolved to give him distinguishing marks of my favour, and had actually in part put them in execution, and at a time when I believed that the first difference that happened betwixt you was entirely removed. I have shunned conversing with Lord Dunbar on these matters, and he has never attempted to mention them to me. You may be assured that I shall disapprove of the conduct of any one who can show the least indignity to you, and I hope I shall not want opportunities of showing the world how much I condemn them. I really think you make too much *Cas* of this matter; it is in itself of no consequence to my affairs providing you despise it, and Lord Dunbar's distance from meddling in politick matters. The stop you may be sure I shall put to *improper correspondence*, was he so imprudent as to undertake any; and the little regard I certainly would have to what he should advance to me on the difference betwixt you and him, must make that matter, and all the circumstances that have attended it, be very soon forgot; and the less is talked or wrote about it the less my interest will suffer by it.

I am too sensible of the great support you are to my interest, to believe you cannot be useful to it. You have already contributed much to advance it, and I don't doubt but you'll continue to be as diligent in seeking my advantage, in spite of all the rubs you meet with in it, as I shall be active in supporting those who serve me as you have done. JAMES R.

This letter sufficiently indicates the cause of the second quarrel, while the little touches of irritation

in it show as plainly the writer's sense of the false position in which he found himself, through improper influence of the offender's sister. This evil, however, was fast drawing to a climax. Possibly the Princess Clementina (always styled the Queen in the correspondence) had heard of the imprudent manner in which Murray had spoken of her in Paris, for at once she objected to his appointment.

It is worthy of remark, that almost directly the fair prisoner in Newgate got back to the little Court at Rome, as if following out a plan, it became the scene of a lamentable domestic scandal. No person had exerted herself more warmly to secure Mrs. Hay's liberation than the Princess, writing very strongly in her favour for that purpose; nevertheless, scarcely had the former assumed the title of Countess of Inverness, than it became notorious that she aspired to add to it that of "La Favorita." The conduct of herself and her brother became intolerably offensive. At last Clementina took counsel with certain cardinals, who, having ascertained that Lord Dunbar was a Protestant, directed her to object to him as an instructor of her son, on that account. James possessed his father's intractability, and insisted on proceeding with the arrangement he had made; then Clementina, finding her position in her husband's house insupportable, left it and entered a convent.

The noise this scandal made at Rome soon found an echo in Paris, and in no one did it excite more real concern than in the Bishop. Except a note (December 17th) to Lord Inverness, making a slight reference to it, his communications on the subject

have not been preserved; but James had written to his minister his own account of the affair on the 19th of November, in these words:—

Lord Inverness informed you, last post, of a very extraordinary scene that was then acting in my family, and which was concluded on last Thursday morning, by the Queen's retiring, with Lady Southesk, into the Convent of St. Cecilia. The papers you will receive with this will set in its true light to you this most extravagant and unaccountable affair; and though the injury the Queen has done me is of the highest nature, both in itself and by its consequences, yet I cannot but lament her misfortune; for it is manifest that she has been drove, or rather forced into her *own ruin* by the malice, violence, and imprudence of those enemies who, finding all other endeavours fruitless, have now made a last effort to engage me into measures destructive to my interest.*

James attributed this *ruin*-ous proceeding of his wife to the machinations of the Duke of Mar, but there is nothing to show Mar's complicity in it; and it is impossible therefore to endorse an opinion recently and very confidently expressed, that he was assisted by Cardinal Alberoni; and "we may be sure every Papist, from the Bishop of Rome himself, to the most insignificant Romanist in James's household,"† brought it about out of hatred to the family by whom he had been superseded. We have not been able to meet with satisfactory evidence of this; nevertheless, are satisfied that much might be said on both sides. Much was not only said but written; James telling his own story in rather a royal way, averring of his consort that her motives "all centre in matters quite out of a wife's sphere." He appealed to his minister:—

* Stuart Papers. † Glover. *Ibid.*

I am persuaded it will be your care to set this unfortunate affair in its true light to such of my well-wishers as you converse with; and though the malice of my enemies is great, it is plain it must, in a very short time, retort against themselves, since it must appear to the whole world that neither the tears nor threats of a wife, whom I had solely loved, could prevail upon me to act in the least tittle against my honour or real interest.*

Persons acquainted with the Pretender's private life might have laughed at such professions of constancy, &c.; but the Bishop could only consider the peril to the cause he had striven so earnestly to advance, by this lamentable exposure.

Shortly afterwards "the King" wrote to him again (December 5th):—

The Queen continues still in the Convent, without giving me any mark of repentance or submission. This Court [Rome] at first saw clearly the unreasonableness of the Queen's insisting on Lord Inverness's removal; but they are now endeavouring to remove Lord Dunbar from my son. The Pope sent to tell me that if he were removed, and Mr. Sheldon taken back into favour, that he hoped matters might be made up between the Queen and me; that what he said of Mr. Sheldon was only by way of entreaty; but as for Lord Dunbar, that he could not approve nor consent to his being about my son. To which I replied that I had no occasion for the Pope's consent or advice in an affair which concerned my private family. It has been talked in town as if the Pope might take from me the pension he gives me; but neither threats of this kind, nor any want of regard the Pope may show me, will induce me to alter my conduct, and will only serve to afford me an opportunity of showing my subjects that nothing can make me alter a conduct which I think right and just."

The son of James the Second, without the shadow of a doubt. What a mind of no great intelligence

* Stuart Papers.

thought right he insisted must be right, in opposition to the head of the Church, to whom he was indebted for an asylum and the means of subsistence. Stuart obstinacy could not have gone farther. Bishop Atterbury, however, saw only the political capital that might be made of the incident. With a magnanimity highly characteristic, he threw aside all memory of the insults he had been made to endure, and defended the obnoxious Governor as a victim to Popish prejudices. He knew well that if he could make out that "the Pretender" was likely to become a martyr, because he had selected a Protestant instructor for his son, he should excite much of that sympathy and zeal that had created the success of William of Orange. He therefore exerted himself to this purpose, in a manner that elicited the admiration of the prejudiced O'Brien. His sufferings, however, put a stop to any active demonstration. He rallied towards the end of the month, when he wrote the following brief notes:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Paris, December 24, 1725.

Sir,

I am not able to continue so long in a sitting posture, as the writing even a short letter will require, and, therefore, must still use another hand, which will in some respects be a restraint upon me; but I have written so fully to the King in the enclosed, that I need not say anything further on those heads to you. I am not of opinion that he will hear from the three persons you mention [Mar, Dillon, and Lansdowne] on the present state of affairs. One is at a distance, perhaps foreseeing the storm, and not knowing well how to behave himself under it. The other two will perceive the ill effects of their bad counsels soon enough not to proceed any further, and will wish with all

their hearts they had not given an advice which directly tends to frustrate the end that they aimed at. Such is usually the issue of measures founded merely on pique and resentment and private views, and not on any honest and laudable motive of action. May all such schemes so prosper, until the King's friends can effectually serve him. May he not fail to profit by the advantages which his very enemies afford him.

Good news still continuing from Vienna, &c., after this thunder clap, will be very welcome; and then all will take a right turn. It begins to take one here, but between you and I, more slowly among those who are most concerned in the event, and should therefore judge of it with the greatest wisdom and calmness, than amongst others; but there are many things which hinder them from seeing matters in a true light, of which I need not inform you. I am confined to my bed and my couch, and must refer you for more particular accounts to those of your correspondents that converse more largely. O'Brien, I hope, and Southcote, will supply this defect. Cameron I hear nothing of. The Duke of Athol has his thousand livres.—I am, sir, &c.

BAROURE.*

In the next communication there occurs something like an intimation that a proposition had been made by the Pretender for a personal conference with his able counsellor in Italy. He had desired this when he first heard of Atterbury's banishment.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

Sir, Paris, December 31, 1725.

Your guess, I believe, is right, as to King Stanislaus having a hand in bringing hither Sir Toby Burke, but I do not imagine he has any commissions from the King of Spain; he is rather a voluntary undertaker, without any instructions. Upon a long conference with him, I judge his scheme to be what you once mentioned from Rome, and what I was then so free as to call an Italian refinement, viz., that the Emperor and the Duke of Hanover had agreed to dupe the two others, and that each had taken his part, but at the bottom were well agreed. You

* Stuart Papers.

must imagine what a progress a man is like to make at this time, upon such a supposition, though some use may possibly be made of his mistake, of which I shall not endeavour to cure him.

As to the proposed journey to Milan, at a proper season it should be considered whether coming so much nearer Rome will be a proper measure to remove jealousies. Methinks Venice is more out of the way, and it is a natural excuse to be at the Carnival; but these events, perhaps, are to be governed by reflections that lie not within my reach.

As to the contents of O'Brien's letter, which he imparted to me, I gave him my thoughts as they naturally occurred on each particular, and to him I refer you for an account of them. I wish you more happiness in the next year than you have had in this last, and that you may find your way out of all the difficulties with which you are entangled.—I am, &c. BAROURE.

The English Ambassador and his lady are, this morning, gone for England, without giving any previous notice of their intended motion. What they have left to be said behind them is that she has gone to lie in at home next February; at any rate we shall not have him soon back again.*

The troubled plenipotentiary was as anxious for his colleagues as for himself. There was one whose career he regarded with special interest. The Duke of Wharton's nature was composed of "the mingled yarn of good and ill, of which our lives are spun," —the ill, unfortunately, predominating. His vices, however, appear to have been the result of bad education, as well as bad example; profligacy and drunkenness being the rule, and virtue and moderation the exceptions.†

* Stuart Papers.

† He had come of age December 19, 1719, and took his seat in the House of Peers two days afterwards. He had been a jovial companion of the Walpoles and their brother *convives*, and was so much in Robert Walpole's confidence, that, on the trial of Bishop Atterbury, against whom he had spoken more than once in the debates on "The Bill of Pains and Penalties," the Minister went over the whole case to the young Duke, pointing out the weaknesses in the Government's

After he had quitted the Austrian capital he became a wanderer, flashing brightly at Paris, Rome, and other social communities, and astonishing more than one European court by his extravagance. There is a lively account of one of his displays of this nature, given by the British Resident at the Court of Spain,* Mr. (afterwards Sir Benjamin) Keene, in which it is asserted that he had not been sober, or had a pipe out of his mouth, since he came back from his expedition to St. Ildefonse; which almost corroborates Christopher Pitt's couplet—

> Some folks are drunk one day, and some for ever;
> And some, like Wharton, but twelve years together.

The despatch is dated Madrid, April 26, 1726.

On Tuesday last I had some company with me that the Duke of Lyria† and Wharton wanted to speak with, upon which they came directly into the room. Wharton made the compliments and placed himself by me. I did not think myself obliged to turn out his star and garter; because, as he is an everlasting talker and tippler, in all probability he would launch out something that might be of use to know, at least might discover, by the warmth of his hopes and expectations, whether any scheme was to be put in immediate execution, in favour of his "dear master," as he calls the Pretender. He began with telling me he had just then left the Duke de Ripperda, after an audience of an hour and a half and four minutes. The Duke of Ormonde was with him, but that circumstance he omitted. I told him—Sure it must have been an affair of the greatest importance to his new cause, that could have made Ripperda spare so much of his time, considering the multiplicity of business he is charged with. At which says he, "You will shortly see the event. It is in

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mode of dealing with it. The Duke very much astonished his credulous friend by rising in his place in the House of Lords, and making a masterly speech in defence of the Bishop, in which those particular points were most dexterously dwelt upon.

* Miscellaneous State Papers, II., 656. Published 1778.

† Son of the Duke of Berwick.

my power to make your Stocks fall as I think fit. My master is now in a post-chaise, but the place he designs for I shall not tell you." He complained that Mr. Stanhope had prevented his seeing their Catholic Majesties, but I am very sure he has delivered in some proposals in writing, which are not discouraged, for on the 1st of May, his Prince's birthday, both he and the Duke of Lyria, amongst a thousand other things they let slip, were fond of drinking a perpetual union of the Saints of the Day—whom God has joined let no man separate. The evening he was with me, he declared himself the Pretender's Prime Minister, and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland.

"Hitherto," says he, "my master's interest has been managed by the Duchess of Perth, and three or four other old women who meet under the portal of St. Germains: he wanted a Whig, and a brisk one, to put them in the right train, and I am the man. You may look upon me, Sir Philip Wharton, Knight of the Garter, and Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the Bath, running a course; and, by God, he shall be hard pressed. He bought my family pictures, but they will not be long in his possession—that account is still open. Neither he nor King George shall be six months at ease, as long as I have the honour to serve in the employ I am now in."

He mentioned mighty things from Muscovy, and talked so much nonsense and contradictions, that it was neither worth my while to remember them, or yours to read them. I used him very *cavalierement*—upon which he was affronted—sword and pistol next day; but, before I slept, a gentleman was sent to desire everything might be forgot. What a pleasure must it have been to have killed a Prime Minister!

I must not forget to observe one thing to you—that is, not only he, but several of his party, before he came, whenever the occasion happened, were full of eulogiums of my Lord Sunderland, whose death they lament as a fatal blow to their cause. Upon the whole behaviour of this gentleman, it is easy to observe that some project in their favour was certainly laid at Vienna, but Ripperda must have found himself not able to sustain it, since he was better informed of the true state of Spain, which must have obliged him to lay it aside till a better opportunity offered.

Wharton, Lyria, and the young Jacks are yet fond of it, and if

it depends on them, would now put it in execution; but the grave sort of them are not so confident—nor so much on their mettle. Wharton was telling the Duke of Ormonde that his master did not love fox-hunting, but that he promised to go to Newmarket. To which he answered that he saw no great probability of it on a sudden, but wished the Pretender might take such care of his affairs that he might be able to keep his word. But I think you will see our new knight strip himself of his new honours before twelve months are passed, if he be thought worth receiving.

As he some time afterwards was recognized in the camp of the Spanish army besieging Gibraltar, the English Government declared him a traitor, and seized on his estates. Subsequently to this his course appears to have been downward, and after many questionable adventures he died in great distress in a Spanish monastery.

Atterbury never forgot the friendly services the Duke had done him, and invariably spoke of him with indulgence. No such consideration appears to have been displayed by James, who was under many obligations to him; but for services past his memory was singularly faithless. He continued to surround himself with an atmosphere of imaginary greatness, while living an existence of matter-of-fact littleness—bringing up his two sons with the titles of Prince of Wales and Duke of York, with such royal graces and virtues as the Governor and Sub-Governor, assisted by a few zealous ecclesiastics, could secure for them. He waited his time, and abused it abominably, notwithstanding the sagacious counsels he received from his conscientious plenipotentiary in Paris; continuing year after year to maintain his confidence in himself and Providence, although it rested only on

the civilities of the Pope and Cardinals—all the while in a blissful state of ignorance that he had been bought and sold quite as completely as those on whom he continued to rely for his restoration. The most sagacious and trustworthy of his ministers was employed in twisting a rope of sand, while he who found the materials, standing on a secure elevation, could laugh at the unprofitable industry.

In the little Court at Rome money had a special attraction. Murray and Hay could not keep up the nominal titles their nominal sovereign chose to invest them with, without pecuniary help, and this the tempter was always ready to offer for particular services. Atterbury and many other sharp-sighted friends of the cause were obliged to come to the conclusion that the plans of James were still regularly betrayed to Walpole by some of those around him. Finding themselves suspected, my Lord Dunbar and my Lord Inverness became intensely hostile to the Bishop, and, assisted by others in James's employment, did him all the injury in their power.

Walpole was still more successful in England. The session of 1727 opened with an inflammatory king's speech read by the Lord Chancellor, announcing an alarming alliance between the Courts of Madrid and Vienna, and the conclusion of a secret treaty, an article in which was the restoration of the Pretender; that a Spanish army was concentrating in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, the real object of which was the invasion of England; and that Russia had been kept from joining the confederation solely by the presence of the British fleet in the Baltic.

So well did this appeal do its duty that the ministerial address in reply was carried in the House of Commons by 251 against 81. Though *nearly half-a-million of money* had been expended by the Government in secret service—that is, bribes—in *two years*, and some account of it was asked for, none was given. The very faithful Commons were told that it had been expended in endeavouring to maintain the peace of Europe and securing British commerce, and they submissively voted a land-tax of twenty per cent.

Before Count Palin, the Emperor's ambassador, quitted England, he addressed a letter to the King, denying the alliance, as well as the secret treaty in favour of the Pretender; but Ministers had contrived to get a large supply by this false alarm, and determined to get more. In vain also were the indignant declarations of the Imperial Commissioner at the diet at Ratisbon. Subservient majorities voted enormous supplies, the Government pretended to press preparations for war, and Denmark was in April included in the confederacy with France. On the 15th of May, all that could be got having been secured, the King dissolved Parliament—five days after which was completed *the treaty of Paris for a general pacification!*

All apprehensions from Russia had died with the Czarina, who expired on the 4th of May; and as Peter the Great's grandson married on the 20th a daughter of Prince Menzikoff, a special friend of the English Government, the chance of any disturbance from the Pretender had become so very slight that King George was permitted to revisit his Hanoverian territories. He landed in Holland on

the 7th of June. After he had passed through the States with a guard of Dutch troops, he arrived late at night at Helder, where he at supper ate heartily of melon. He resumed his journey the next morning, but before he had travelled many miles choleraic symptoms betrayed themselves. On reaching the town of Linden he was bled, and then proceeded towards Osnaburg, where he arrived late at night, in a state of lethargic paralysis, which ended in death about midnight.

George the First, since he had accepted the offer of the most powerful political party in England to make him King of England, had reigned twelve years, ten months, and as many days. He died in his sixty-eighth year, not a bit more of an Englishman than when he first landed to take possession of the appendage to his continental inheritance. Walpole, who had been everything to him, and whose tenure of office was believed to be terminated by the removal of his patron, now proceeded to show to what profit he could turn the enormous sum of money he had raised by the imaginary invasion.

George I. did not neglect the Universities; he purchased for one the library of Dr. Moore, Bishop of Ely, and quartered a regiment of dragoons upon the other. This elicited the following epigram from Dr. Trapp:—

> The King, observing, with judicious eyes,
> The state of both his Universities,
> To one he sent a regiment—for why?
> That learnèd body wanted loyalty;
> To th' other he sent books, as well discerning
> How much that loyal body wanted learning.

To this Sir William Browne replied:—

The King to Oxford sent his troop of horse,
For Tories hold no argument but force;
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Dr. Stackhouse writes a Biography of the Bishop—Pope produces "The Dunciad"—Dr. Arbuthnot—Epitaph on Colonel Charteris—Dr. John Freind becomes a Courtier—Gay's "Beggars' Opera"—Its Satire on Walpole and Townshend—Richard Savage plays "Sir Thomas Overbury"—His Homicide—Lampoon on Dennis—"The Wanderer"—"The Bastard"—"The Progress of a Divine: a Satire"—Dr. Johnson's Account of his Distresses—Low Church Divines—Court Chaplains and Prelates—Queen Caroline hears Prayers while being dressed—Mrs. Clayton patronizes Low Church Divinity—Dr. Alured Clarke—Dr. Hoadly—Dr. Clayton—Dr. Talbot—Dr. Samuel Clarke—Pope's Lines upon him in "The Dunciad"—The Divinity that shapes the Ends of Clerical Courtiers—Atterbury's Dissertation on Virgil's Character of Japis—Patriotic Lamentation.

This year was rendered memorable by the publication of a biography of the exile, by a brother clergyman. Dr. Stackhouse was a voluminous author, and wrote much controversial divinity, and a "History of the Bible." His "Memoirs of Bishop Atterbury from his Birth to his Banishment" formed an octavo volume, and was published in 1727. It was most probably a bookseller's speculation. The true story of the life of this political victim was not likely to see the light while the Walpoles were in power; but though largely tinctured with prejudice, and as remarkable

for as many sins of omission as of commission, the work is respectable compared with the miserable misrepresentations of other reverend doctors who have collected slanders relating to him. The book does not appear to have attracted the attention of any member of the Atterbury family.

Pope's literary labours had proceeded with unabated energy during the troubles of his episcopal friend. Since he had concluded his great work, the metrical translation of the "Iliad," 1720, he edited the poems of his poetical friend, Parnell, with the valuable addition of his admirable Epistle to Lord Oxford. A far less successful employment was his edition of Shakspeare, for which, like other contemporary editors, he was totally unfit. Then came the translation of the "Odyssey," of which he furnished twelve books only, the rest having been contributed by Fenton and Broome—as we have shown—to Atterbury's intense disappointment; nevertheless the speculation proved extremely profitable.

His association with Swift was brought closer in the year 1727, by a joint publication in four volumes of their "Miscellanies." It was in the preface to this work that Pope complained bitterly of Curl, for bringing out without his permission a collection of his early letters to Mrs. Thomas,* the "Corinna" of the satirical poem in which he expressed his indignation. This improper publication excited so many severe remarks from the critics that he resolved on

* "Familiar Letters to Henry Cromwell, Esq.," 1727. The complaint is thus expressed: "Having both of us been extremely ill-treated by some booksellers, especially by one Edmund Curl," &c. The preface is signed "Jonathan Swift, Alex. Pope, Twickenham, May 27, 1727."

the production of a satire, in which he should include all his opponents. Its first title was "Dulness," but this was presently changed to "The Dunciad," an heroic poem in three books.

It is unquestionable that the poet had received innumerable provocations—the ordinary declarations of envy and hostility against a successful rival; but his true friends, and Atterbury amongst them, considered the work a waste of talent and of feeling. "The rats and mice, and such small deer," of Grub Street, were not worth so much attention. His attacks, too, are indiscriminate. Bentley was despotic and arrogant, but was a profound scholar. It was gross injustice to class him with dunces. Ducket and Aaron Hill were as unjustifiably treated; and the insignificance of the mere scribblers should have been their security. Unfortunately Pope, with much greatness of soul, had some littleness: his vanity would not permit him to be indifferent to criticism that questioned his superiority.

It is hard to believe that the same spirit which defended and consoled Atterbury could betray the malevolence that has gibbeted Theobald and Cibber: but the proverb, "Extremes meet," was forcibly illustrated by him. It should be a consolation of his innumerable admirers to know that many a creditable set-off may be found against his personal attacks.*

* His writings are so well known that the reader can readily supply the titles of those already published by him up to this date, that have not been mentioned in this work, including the "Essay on Criticism," "The Messiah," "The Rape of the Lock," "The Temple of Fame," &c. &c., as well as such as were published subsequently, such as the Epistles to Richard Earl of Burlington, to Lord Bathurst "On the Use of Riches," to Lord Cobham, &c. &c.

Pope, we all know, could aim at higher game than the heroes of "The Dunciad"—as Lord Hervey, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, and several other distinguished unworthies found to their cost. To these also objections might be raised, but the credit side of his compositions contains items that make a noble balance in his favour.

The exile felt a warm interest in his fame, and few things afforded him more genuine gratification than messages from him in the letters of his correspondents in Delahay Street; nor could they offer him more acceptable entertainment than a new production of his genius fresh from the London press. They were well aware of this, and it was rarely that their letters reached him without some reference to their "Twickenham friend."

Dr. Arbuthnot possessed considerable scientific attainments, which he displayed as a Fellow of the Royal Society in more than one important controversy; while his literary talent not less than his social qualifications continued to recommend him to the best society. One of his cleverest things was his epitaph on the profligate Colonel Charteris, but it was of later date (1731). His quizzical productions were similar to those of Swift, even in their coarseness. "The History of John Bull" is the best example of his humour.*

* It was in the year 1698 that "The First Partition Treaty," the title by which it was long afterwards quoted, was arranged, respecting the Spanish succession (the death of the King of Spain being almost daily expected) as a completion of the negotiation that had for some time been carried on between the Courts of St. James's and Versailles. Dr. Arbuthnot wrote a political squib on the subject, known as "The History of John Bull," in which the high contracting

After the trial of Atterbury, so good an understanding was presently effected between Walpole and Doctor John Freind, that the latter received the appointment of Physician to the Prince of Wales. He became a special favourite with the Princess and her confidante, Mrs. Clayton; at last was so thorough a courtier as to become, on the accession of George II., the most subservient of the very mixed medley of adventurers who were in the habit of paying court to Queen Caroline and Lady Sundon. His easy surrender of his principles was at the time resented by the colleague, who had been punished for his fidelity to them, but Atterbury got the better of this feeling, and desired a renewal of the old friendship. This appeared in a classical dissertation he shortly afterwards published.

Gay betrayed his altered sentiments in a dramatic satire, that took the town as if by storm, in November, 1727.

Could the exiled Bishop have been permitted to witness that first representation of "The Beggars' Opera," the hearty enjoyment by a discriminating public of the travesty of his persecutors, Walpole and Townshend, as Peechum and Lockit, ought to have been sufficient revenge. So prodigious was the popularity of the play, that the striking passages were repeated in every form that could help to

parties are burlesqued as a clothier and a linendraper, arranging the affairs of a bedridden neighbour, and settling his estate. King William's interference in continental affairs was regarded by many of his subjects as no less an intrusion than that of the imaginary tradesman, parcelling out the lands and valuables of the imaginary moribund old gentleman; but the Treaty of Loo was far from being an unnecessary interposition on the part of that sagacious monarch.

keep them in remembrance; and the Polly (Lavinia Beswick), an actress previously in anything rather than good repute, became so intensely "the rage," that Charles, third Duke of Bolton, was induced to make her his Duchess.

The satire upon the ministers was so cleverly disguised that they could not resent it. However, when the author announced a sequel, with the title "Polly," it was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain. Then he printed it by subscription, and his friends, led by the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, who gave up their posts at Court to mark their indignation at this stretch of power, contributed a sum of nearly £1,200, in addition to £400 the publication of the opera had produced him. The manager had also found the play so attractive that it was said at the time to have made Rich gay and Gay rich.*

There is a certain similarity between the characters of Gay and Goldsmith; but either as dramatist or poet the latter has much the advantage of his improvident, vain, but good-natured predecessor. "Trivia" possesses merits above the writer's pastorals, but is rarely read; while "The Beggars' Opera," the parent of the modern burlesque drama, maintained its popularity more than a century after the political interest it had so largely excited had entirely passed away. That the author was worthy of a place near Chaucer

* Subsequent disappointments preyed upon his spirits, and in the year 1731 he retired into Somersetshire, where he wrote in a very melancholy strain to his friend Pope, "O that I had never known what a Court was!" He made another attempt at dramatic composition, "Achilles," and returned to town to insure its performance, when he was seized with inflammatory fever, of which he died after a few days, Dec. 11, 1732.

in Westminster Abbey is open to question, though his claim to so honourable a sepulchre may be infinitely better than that of many who have been permitted to share it.

The great scandal of the time was occasioned by an unworthy woman of rank, and an equally culpable man of letters; but in referring to the story of the Countess of Macclesfield and her alleged natural son by Lord Rivers, though born during marriage, Richard Savage, it will only be necessary to dwell slightly on it, as a necessary feature in the social history of the age. Dr. Johnson, who had the advantage of a contemporary knowledge of the principal facts of the case, states that before the death of Lord Rivers, in 1712, Lady Macclesfield had assured his lordship that his son was dead; nevertheless, having been sent out of the way as an unpleasant evidence of her shame, the boy had been brought up by Lady Mason. He received a fair amount of education, and after the death of the woman to whose charge he had been committed, ascertained, by a perusal of Lady Mason's letters, who was his mother. He applied to Lady Macclesfield, but though she did not disown him, she would not afford him any assistance.

Being possessed of some literary talent, he endeavoured to make it available, and the Bishop of Bangor's controversy attracting general attention, he wrote a poetical attack upon that prelate, with the title of "The Battle of the Pamphlets." Nothing came of it. He then attempted dramatic composition, with quite as little success; nevertheless, it brought him under the notice of Sir Richard Steele, who, with characteristic good nature, stated in one of

his periodicals, "The Plain Dealer," that "the inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to find every good man his father." No doubt seems to have been entertained of his story by those who possessed the fullest opportunity for ascertaining the truth. Sir Richard introduced him to his numerous friends, and seems to have given him literary employment, but the connection did not last long; the client misconducted himself, and the patron would have nothing further to say to him. Wilkes, the actor, then exerted himself in his service, introduced him to Mrs. Oldfield, whose warm heart was so touched by his distress, that she settled fifty pounds a year upon him for life. He occasionally received douceurs from persons of a like liberality, but his mother employed all her interest to prevent his securing an adequate provision from this source.

In the year 1723 he attempted a tragedy on the subject of Sir Thomas Overbury, and played the principal character himself—for three nights only. The play was indifferent, the actor worse; nevertheless, zealous friends took the publication in hand, and it produced him £100. Having published his story in "The Plain Dealer," they got up a subscription for a volume of poems, which came out under the patronage of the Duke of Rutland and Lord Gainsborough, the Duchesses of Cleveland, Rutland, and Ladies Gower, Lechmere, Cheyney, Strafford, Castlemaine, and other persons of distinction; all of whom must have been satisfied that he was the son of the Countess of Macclesfield. It was dedicated, somewhat fulsomely, to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

Mr. Savage lived the life of a literary adventurer, without reproach, till the 20th of November, 1727, when it was his misfortune to get into a brawl in a disreputable house. Nearly all the men present wore swords. Savage, upon some drunken impulse, drew his, made a thrust at a stranger, then quarrelling with a friend of his who was unarmed, and gave him a fatal wound. He fled, was pursued and taken, and soon afterwards tried for his life. The judge appears to have conducted himself most improperly at the trial, and induced the jury to return a verdict of murder. His mother then strove all she could to prejudice the Queen against him, and would have succeeded, but for the Countess of Hertford, who obtained for him the King's pardon.

These tragical incidents made him more the town talk than ever, but his narrow escape does not seem to have made him more cautious in his conduct. The animosity of his mother appears to have rendered him reckless, and he threatened a public exposure. This Lord Tyrconnel prevented by receiving him into his family, and giving him an income of £200 a year —an act his lordship would have hesitated to perform had there been cause for entertaining the slightest suspicion of Savage being an impostor. He retained the friendship of Pope—a distinction not likely to have been bestowed on an unworthy object.

After such good fortune, his mind and his principles apparently became equally unhinged. There is a glaring want of moral purpose in all his writings, beginning with "An Author to be Let."

He wrote at random lampoons and dedications, now

taking twenty guineas from Sir Robert Walpole for a panegyric, now a more liberal share of abuse from the heroes of "The Dunciad," on account of his acquaintance with its author. He indulged in epigrams on friends and enemies. Here is one on Dennis, the critic, with whom he was intimate:—

> Should Dennis publish you had stabb'd your brother,
> Lampoon'd your monarch, or debauch'd your mother,
> Say what revenge on Dennis can be had—
> Too dull for laughter, for reply too mad.
> On one so poor you cannot take the law,
> On one so old your sword you scorn to draw;
> Uncaged, then, let the harmless monster rage,
> Secure in dulness, madness, want, and age.

In the year 1729 he published "The Wanderer," a moralizing poem, inculcating endurance under affliction, but deficient both in method and vigour. Dr. Johnson has pronounced that it "abounds with strong representations of nature, and just observations upon life;" that it was diligently laboured and successfully finished; moreover, that it is a valuable performance. It was inscribed, in extremely eulogistic terms, to Lord Tyrconnel, his liberal patron. Nevertheless, with characteristic inconsistency, the author quarrelled with his lordship shortly after. He had previously written a poem to commemorate the recovery of Lady Tyrconnel from a protracted indisposition, "The Triumph of Health and Mirth"—one of his happiest productions. His domiciliation with this family as an acknowledged kinsman secured him a reception into the best society, a privilege which he abused as recklessly as he did the talents he possessed. When banished from the house of the Tyrconnels his

great friends dropped off, and he fell in the social scale irretrievably. His mind became more humiliated than his fortunes, and, smarting under the sense of wrong an evil temper exaggerated, he produced his poem "The Bastard."

More than ever he became the subject of town talk; the old scandal was revived with increased force; and the vigorous vindictiveness of many of the passages became so popular, that his mother, who was at Bath, found it imperative to fly from the unpleasant notoriety the poem brought upon her. Five editions were rapidly sold, but as he had parted with the copyright for a trifle, this success was of little solid benefit to him. He was disappointed in other hopes he had entertained through his knowledge of the King's admiration of his celebrated work; for the Lord Chamberlain bestowed the vacant laureateship on Colley Cibber. Queen Caroline sent him a gracious message and a bank bill for £50, through Lord North, intimating that the poet had permission to write some production for Her Majesty annually, for which he should receive the like sum.

This good fortune so affected him, that he publicly assumed the title of "Volunteer Laureate," against which Cibber protested in vain, and he again sought the Court as a source of patronage, though with no further profit. Indeed, at one time he was nearly losing his annuity, on a charge brought against him, in the Government paper, the *Daily Courant*, of having been the leader of a mob in some party demonstration. It was well known that his sympathies had been with Bishop Atterbury and his political

friends, but he had sufficient sense to refrain from any betrayal of them whilst looking for favour from the Court. He had, however, active enemies, and one had misrepresented him in the newspaper. No harm came of it. He threatened a prosecution of the libeller, but thought proper to abandon the design.

About this time he chose to distinguish himself by hostility to one of the ministers. The great subject of town talk happened to be a dispute between the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of London; and because one or two of his remaining friends were warm partisans of the prelate, he chose to become his advocate and eulogist. He wrote a satire on the clergy, entitled "The Progress of a Divine," in which he represents Dr. Rundell as almost exclusively the patron of genius. He knew as little of the merits of the controversy in which this bishop had assisted as of the one in which earlier in his career the Bishop of Bangor had been engaged. He adopted both subjects on speculation. Some improper passages in the last production occasioned a prosecution in the Court of King's Bench for obscenity. The charge was not only disproved, but the judge, Sir Philip Yorke, expressed high praise of Mr. Savage's writings, and he was acquitted. The poem, however, excited so much disapprobation, that he thought it prudent not to reprint it. He was permitted not only to retain his pension, which he squandered as soon as it was paid him, but Walpole promised him the first situation vacant worth £200 a year—a promise he chose to forget. He now sat down to the composition of a more creditable work—a poem "On Public

Spirit, with regard to Public Works," dedicated to the Prince of Wales. Neither the public nor his Royal Highness patronized the work; it was a failure, and the disappointment aggravated his distress, and still further disturbed his mind. He sank to the lowest depths of social misery. Dr. Johnson asserts that "On a bulk, in a cellar, or in a glass house among thieves and beggars, was to be found the author of 'The Wanderer'"—the conclusion of the sentence is obviously rhetorical—"the man of exalted sentiments, extensive views, and curious observations; the man whose remarks on life might have assisted the statesman, whose ideas of virtue might have enlightened the moralist, whose eloquence might have influenced senates, and whose delicacy might have polished courts."*

Queen Caroline's favourite poet now was Stephen Duck, the thresher, whom Her Majesty chose to transform into a clergyman of the Church of England; and Savage was neglected. Nevertheless, he had still a few powerful friends at Court, who commiserated his sufferings, and raised a subscription for him, the Duke of Chandos contributing ten guineas. The Queen died, and he wrote an elegy, in which he did not forget to remind the royal widower of his hope of having the pension continued. He also importuned Sir Robert Walpole to perform his promise; but George II. and his minister turned their backs upon him. The few persons who continued their interest in Savage, Pope amongst them, after trying unavailingly

* Lives of the Poets.

various schemes for his benefit, clubbed their resources to send him to Wales. His misconduct frustrated their benevolent intentions.*

There is very little doubt that Richard Savage possessed grievous faults; but surely some allowance should be made for the mental irritation under which it is evident that he laboured during the greater portion of his melancholy career. There are no grounds for asserting that his claim on the Countess of Macclesfield was fictitious. Her ladyship survived her unfortunate son ten years, and was alive when Dr. Johnson published the work in which the biography of Savage was considered one of its chief attractions.†

None but Low Church divines gained Court favour after the banishment of the obnoxious High Church prelate. In truth, his principles went so entirely out of fashion that the candidates for patronage seemed contending which should reach the other extreme. The Court chaplains were content to accept their theological principles from Mrs. Clayton, the bedchamber woman to Queen Caroline; and extraordinary are the manifestations of sycophancy this produced. They do not appear to have been treated with much respect by their royal mistress; indeed, one of them, having been forced to read prayers in an anteroom while the Queen's toilette and gossip were going on, pro-

* He quitted the place where he might have lived in comfort, though economically; and after much improper indulgence at Bristol, was arrested and carried to Newgate, where his untiring friend visited him, as he had done a far more honourable prisoner, and where the unfortunate man died, August 1, 1743.

† She was more than eighty when she died, October 11, 1753. Two years later Dr. Johnson published a collected edition of her son's writings, "The Works of Richard Savage, Esq., son of the Earl Rivers," in two volumes, small octavo.

tested against "whistling the Word of God through a keyhole."

One of them, Dr. Alured Clarke, was more subservient. He made court to Her Majesty's favourite, addressing her in letters of extraordinary adulation. A still more time-serving divine was Dr. Hoadly, who had been recompensed with the rich bishopric Atterbury had refused; a third was Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Killala, a relation to the bedchamber woman's husband. Of the three, Hoadly was the most servile; next came Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Oxford. There is a letter extant of his lordship's to Mrs. Clayton that will ever remain a choice specimen of cringing.* That lady's theological oracle was Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose heterodox notions Pope had stigmatized in "The Dunciad":—

> Let others creep by timid steps and slow,
> On plain experience lay foundations low,
> By common sense, to common knowledge bred,
> And last, by Nature's cause through Nature led,
> All-seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,
> Mother of arrogance, and source of pride,
> We nobly take the high *priori* road,
> And reason downwards till we doubt of God.

Whiston, whose opinions were more startling than those of either Clarke or Hoadly, was also a clerical favourite of Mrs. Clayton, and consequently of her royal mistress.

Shakspeare refers to the "Divinity that shapes our ends;" but this is not the divinity that shaped the ends of Queen Caroline's ecclesiastical courtiers. There cannot be a doubt that Bishop Atterbury's

* Memoirs and Correspondence of Lady Sundon, I., 60.

exclusion from such company was neither a loss nor a disgrace.

Though the exile was deprived of the use of a library, his devotion to literature led him, whenever he could escape from his political trammels, to resume his avocations as a man of letters. Classical criticism, or other form of study of the ancient writers, was his usual resource. When he was able to free himself from the worthless coterie at Rome, he returned to his beloved Virgil and Horace with increased enjoyment. His attention was now directed to certain passages in the "Æneid," in which the character of Japis is delineated, and he wrote an essay, in which he endeavoured to identify him with Antonius Musa, the physician, who is said to have cured Augustus by the use of the cold bath, and destroyed the young Marcellus by the same remedy. The failure is ignored in the dissertation, in which the skill of the physician, and his consequent favour with the Emperor, is impressively dwelt upon.

It appears to have been addressed to Dr. John Freind, his old Jacobite associate, now the Court physician; and malevolent politicians thought, that as the Roman Doctor had cured the Emperor and got rid of the Prince, the English Doctor might with advantage to their cause follow this classical example? The better disposed, however, were willing to accept the essay as a compliment to the author's once cordial friend. It was greatly admired by all the members of the Chelsea and Westminster circle to whom it was shown: indeed, so desirous were they to obtain copies, that Dr. Ferrara, and Corbett, the

bookseller, published different editions of it about the same time,* 1741.

His feelings respecting his banishment were thus expressed by him:—

Hæc ego lusi
Ad Sequanæ ripas, Tamesino a flumine longe,
Jam senior, languensque, sed ipsi in morte meorum,
Quos colui, patriæque memor, nec degener usquam.

Here paraphrased:—

Thus, where the Seine through realms of slavery strays,
With sportive verse I wing my tedious days;
Far from Britannia's happy climate torn,
Bow'd down with age, and with diseases worn:
Yet e'en in death I act a steady part,
And still my friends and country share my heart.†

* In the Preface the Editor dilates on the merits of his author in language that formed a marked contrast to the wretched misrepresentations of the Matys, Wartons, Burnets, &c., &c. He says, "He drew up this admirable piece of criticism, not in his young days, when the memory and imagination are in bloom and full vigour, neither in his firm and mature age, when the fruits of the understanding are ripe, but in the last period of his life, almost decayed by time—a season when all those branches of our nobler parts are generally entirely withered, or at the best drooping and barren. Besides, his body was almost worn out by long and painful distempers, and his mind weak under the heavy misfortune of being deprived of what nature has deeply implanted in the soul—a particular affection and most tender love for his native land, which, separated from his near relations and best and dearest friends, he passionately desired to see again."

† Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence of Atterbury, II., 366.

CHAPTER X.

LONDON AND PARIS.

Jacobite Plans at the Death of George I.—Letter from the Bishop's Son-in-law—Lord and Lady Mar—Mist, the Journalist, and Sir Robert Walpole—Drs. Hare, Sherlock, and Freind—Letter of the Duchess of Buckingham to Mrs. Morice—Her Reply—French Cardinals Polignac and Fleury—Père Courayer, a popular Preacher, becomes intimate with Atterbury, who assists his escaping to England—His Reception there—The Bishop writes to Mr. Morice—Cardinal Fleury sends to Atterbury to ascertain his Share in the Flight of Courayer—The Bishop's Letter to the Police Agent—His Reply—Atterbury writes to his Son-in-law an Account of this Transaction—Voltaire's English Essay—Pope and the Duchess of Buckingham—Père Courayer in England—Mrs. Morice respecting the Visit of the Cardinal's Messenger.

The sudden and very remarkable death of George I. was thought to afford a favourable opening for advancing the legitimate claims to the throne of Great Britain of the son of James II.; but the prudence of George II., quite as much as the increasing want of confidence in "James III.," defeated the hopes of the Jacobites.

The letter of the Bishop's son-in-law (January 13), when he forwarded the communication of the Duchess of Buckingham, will convey to the reader

the impressions of a shrewd observer of the immense change that was in progress. It contains many items of interest, illustrating the existing position of affairs in Church and State, particularly such as relates to the ratting of those once determined Jacobites the Freinds. Of a more agreeable nature is the evidence of the loyalty of Pope. The liberality of their mutual friend the Duchess is equally pleasing. Despite the bar sinister, her Grace appears to have been the best of the Stuart race. Her letter and Mrs. Morice's answer do credit to both writers.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

January $\frac{1}{12}$, 1727-8.

My honoured Lord,

The enclosed letter to Mrs. Morice, and her answer to it, are both necessary, I think, for your lordship's perusal. You will lose no time in letting me have your thoughts upon the subject, for I am impatient till I receive such an answer from you as may be shown the lady. I hope Mrs. Morice's answer, which she was forced to write in a sort of hurry, the messenger waiting for it, contains nothing improper. What is mentioned about Mr. Mead being with me related, I suppose, to the payment for the coronation lace; but I never saw Mr. Mead on that occasion. He, poor man, was taken ill just as he must have received the orders to settle that affair, and is since dead. No doubt her Grace will soon give fresh orders on that head. The fan (which was sent my wife) is the finest my eyes ever beheld; fit for a coronation, and probably worn on that day. We have since had an haunch and side of venison from Leigh's,* and frequently kind messages from thence. All these civilities came after Mrs. Morice had delivered the little tokens, which it is plain were not unwelcome but kindly taken.

I also send you the letter I received from Mr. Pope, just after my arrival, that you may see his reason for not writing to me

* A seat of the Duchess of Buckingham, in Essex.

at Paris. He came soon after to see me, and was full of his kind inquiries after you.

The story of my Lord and Lady Mar has been related to me, and by this time it is as well known here as abroad. As to that lord's scheme, which you hear has been printed in French and English, I have inquired after it, and at last find it is so. Whenever I am able to procure any of them, you shall hear of them at Paris. I do not find they are in very many hands. Happening to have a little acquaintance with Mist, the journalist, I asked him whether he had heard of any such scheme, and of its being in print. He told me he had one or two of the papers sent him from Holland: he cannot guess from what hand: they came in a blank cover by the post, and not being willing, in his circumstances, to meddle with affairs of such a nature, he gave the copy to one of the profession, who had formerly done him some little civilities, that he might reap some profit by the publication of it, and he might very well venture publishing it, since he was not ill looked upon by the Ministry. The man was much pleased with the thing, and very thankful to Mist for putting him in the way of getting some money; but, before he went so far as to publish it, he had the caution to wait upon Sir Robert Walpole and consult him upon it. Sir Robert (as I am told) was struck very much at reading the paper, and wanted to know whence the man had it—said it was of consequence, and must come from some great man. The printer desired to be excused from naming names, being under a promise not to do it. Sir Robert bid him stop doing anything about it till he saw him again, and appointed him a time to come to him again. At the second interview Sir Robert insisted so strongly upon knowing from what hand the man had the paper (promising that the person that gave it him should come into no trouble about it) that he brought the fellow to own he had received it from Mr. Mist, who acquainted him he had received it by the post from Holland. Sir Robert seemed surprised, bid the man go look for Mist and desire him to come to him; but Mist has hitherto avoided going, as knowing nothing of the matter more than that such a paper came to him by the post. Sir Robert has forbidden the publication of it; and Mist is under some apprehension of being troubled under some pretext or other for the sake of this affair. This is all I can tell you of this matter.

As to public news, upon what footing our present set of ministers stand, people do not agree. It is generally thought Sir Robert's fate as a minister depends upon the success of foreign affairs: it is confidently said there are divisions and uneasinesses amongst those at the helm, and that the newly created peer* and Sir Robert differ very much, which it is not unlikely may end in the removal of Sir Robert, though they say he has ingratiated himself extremely with her Majesty, being the only person who ventured to propose so large a dowry as £100,000, and to promise the obtaining it in Parliament, Sir Spencer Compton not naming above £70,000.

The report of Sir Robert having delivered petitions from Kelly and Plunkett is very true; but I do not find as yet the good effect of them. If an act of grace, which some people say is to be brought in next sessions, should come, it is believed those two petitioners will be included in it, at least discharged about that time; if so, why is somebody else kept abroad? You observe rightly that all things do not run in one channel, as they did in the late reign; and that Sir Robert's influence in ecclesiastical affairs is at an end. Nor has the Archbishop of Canterbury † any power in that matter. He imagined he should have the first week or fortnight of the new reign, and people thought so too; but he found his recommendations disregarded, and so he has chosen to sit still at Lambeth, and tells everybody he has no interest at Court. The Queen seems chiefly to manage that branch, though not absolutely; for she intended Dr. Hare for the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, and Dr. Sherlock for that of Norwich: but the whole ministry united in their representations against it, alleging it would disoblige the whole bench of Bishops to have the new consecrated ones let into the best preferments at once; and to carry their point, they put Wynne upon taking Bath and Wells (for which it seems he made no application himself), and Baker upon taking Norwich, to disappoint Sherlock.

Dr. John Freind is a great man at Court, and his reputation as a physician much raised by Lord Townshend's recovery after the Whig doctors, particularly Hulse (who attended in conjunction with Freind and Sloane), differed so greatly with Dr. Freind as to quit his further attendance on my lord, and declare his

* Sir Spencer Compton, Lord Wilmington. † Dr. William Wake.

lordship must die if he followed the course Dr. Freind was for taking with him. But his lordship declared he would live or die by the hands of Freind, and so Hulse took his leave; and his lordship is, contrary to most people's expectations, past all danger. Dr. Freind some time ago recovered Lord Lynne after the other physicians had given him over, and also soon after recovered the second son; so that the Townshend family owe the Doctor three lives. This intimacy of Dr. John Freind at Court has made way for the civilities which the public prints inform you have been paid to Westminster School by the young Prince's honouring them with his presence, and seeing a play acted by the King's scholars at the college. Dr. Bob* is to have a prebend; the first vacancy is promised, so he is to fill the second; but, if that does not happen soon, some people imagine he may be disappointed, notwithstanding present appearances and his early compliments to the present reign; for, the Monday following the death of the old King, the theme he gave in school was a little out of the way, and I am at a loss to find out the wit of it. It was this:—

Nunquam Libertas gratior extat quam sub Rege *novo*.

Methinks *pio* might have stood as well, and been as good a compliment to a new king. Some time after the young Prince begged a play; and, upon the occasion, the theme given for the boys to exert their talents upon was:—*Celebrate ducem qui vobis otia fecit.* And I foresee the next anniversary meeting of Westminster scholars, on the 15th instant, will vary very much from the last, when great care was taken not to dip into flattery or party. There will be enough of both this year. In short, people seem generally to have changed their countenances during my absence; at least they appear to me in a different light from what I used to view them in; they look at the same time a little silly, as if they were gotten between two stools and afraid of dropping between. Some few indeed still keep their old faces. I had laid aside all thoughts of mentioning to L. what happened on your side in relation to him before your letter came to forbid me, as judging it not proper according to what I find in his present way of thinking.—I am, &c.†

* Robert Freind, D.D., the Head Master of Westminster School. He became Canon of Windsor 1729; Prebendary of Westminster 1731; and Canon of Christ Church 1744. He died 1754.

† Atterbury Papers.

THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO MRS. MORICE.

December ½, 1727.

Madam,

I beg to know from you whether Mr. Mead has been with Mr. Morice about a little matter I bid him do; and I should be glad to know of Mr. Morice's opinion of the Act of Parliament concerning the Bishop of Rochester. I had it by me, but it is mislaid. In case my son should go to France to follow his exercises better than he can learn them here, whether he may not be seen and examined sometimes [as to] how Mr. Costa does instruct him, without any hazard of forfeiture to a child. I know his mamma could not have the advantage of hearing herself his opinions without a forfeiture people would very willingly take. In short, the King has forbid me and my son the liberties we were permitted in his father's reign, and I was no favourite in it; but, by the Duchess of Kendal's means, I had a few common acts of breeding and humanity shown me—that of the same privileges of the King's park, which I was allowed in Queen Anne's reign—and the promise not to pardon Ward, which I doubt if I should have obtained now; though I fancied myself a sort of favourite of the Queen's, because I have about ten letters under her hand, which flatter me with it, and many personal assurances besides.

I confess I am much tempted to breed my son abroad if I could secure his religion well and education better; though his affairs, and the odd agents I believe everybody has who has intricate matters to manage, make it impracticable for me to settle as I could wish with him; yet I could visit him when I was not other ways necessarily employed. And, indeed, betwixt the great easiness of his governor (though otherwise a valuable man), he is always visiting and following the calls of good-for-nothing courtiers, to the loss of the time he ought to bestow on his pupil: so that in the country only, or in another country, one can have him as much at home as is requisite.

First, I have nothing passes in my family I would give three farthings to hide; yet I am sure the gossiping women and such kind of men send and invite him to dinner and supper in hopes to pick something from him of what passes in conversation either from me or my company, which makes them make the rout they do with him, who really is too good a sort of man to

be a pleasure to them, though he has the fault of his country—too great an awe and respect for people in power, only because they are so. And I begin to fear the people whom I must necessarily have at my table and house, as stewards and agents about business, will grow to make their court to my son at the expense of flattery; and methods may come to spoil him at home, though yet I have prevented that hazard from servants and such as make an home education dangerous. Could I carry my son to France, and leave him under what part of your papa's direction he would have the good nature to undertake, I should think I did the best I could now for him; and really as to what progress he makes in learning I am entirely ignorant.

I know his governor is reckoned a great scholar, and is a man without any vices; yet I do believe my son will be a little too headstrong or too cunning for him in a short time. Though to me he is very tractable and very fond of me, yet his natural temper is pretty warm—very eager for what he fancies at all, and consequently should have his time much and well taken up. as he now is near twelve years of age. This thought of at all parting with him is very hard to me; yet I begin to fear the ill effects of always an home education: and I fear our schools at Westminster or Eton for his health, and for the jumble it may now make betwixt their manner of learning and what he has had; and I wish I could any way get good advice in relation to it. Could I have an opinion safely asked, I should be glad, and, by this servant I send to town, should be glad to receive some answer.—I am ever, madam, your faithful servant,

K. Buckingham.

P.S.—I have bought a finer fan than I am used to do, which, as I shall only come to town a little this winter, I shall not want; and, as I think it well painted, I desire you to accept of it and wear it.*

Mrs. Morice to the Duchess of Buckingham.

Holland House, December $\frac{3}{14}$, 1727.

Madam,

I have the favour of your Grace's letter, accompanied with a fan, the finest I think I ever saw, and very unfit for my

* Atterbury Papers.

use; but your Grace commands me to take it, and I must obey. I shall preserve it with the greatest care, and use it like a curiosity as it is—shall every now and then entertain myself with viewing the fine painting, and prize it for its own value, but much more when I remember the giver.

Mr. Morice has turned his thoughts upon that part of your Grace's letter in which you do him the honour of asking his opinion. The Act of Parliament, he says, is worded with so much malice and wicked ill nature that it is difficult to give any opinion upon it. It is certain there is no exception for anybody but such as have the King's sign manual; and consequently any set of ministers have it in their power to be troublesome or not, as their good or ill dispositions shall lead them. However, he thinks there may be a method found out of fulfilling in a great measure your Grace's intentions about my Lord Duke, upon which head he will explain himself further when he has the honour of waiting upon you next. At present he is willing to say no more, having a good opportunity (by a friend who sets out for Paris next week) of sending for a better opinion than his own; and, in a short time after, he may reasonably expect to receive an answer by a very safe conveyance. Upon this occasion, madam, give me leave to say that I am sure there is nothing in the world would please my papa more than to become useful in the education of my Lord Duke. He told us more than once, when we were last with him, that, were he restored to his own country again, he should turn his time and thoughts to nothing more zealously; and, as far as it can be brought about, he will, I know, be pleased at being useful in the same way abroad.

If your Grace has any commands for Mr. Morice, he is always glad and ready to receive them. He is never above an hour's drive from London, and so not out of the way of doing anything wherein your Grace judges him of use. He offers his humble respects, and I am, &c.,

MARY MORICE.*

The French Government cherished traditions of glory under ecclesiastical administrations. There had

* Atterbury Papers.

been French Wolseys who had connected Church and State, with a predominating element of the former, each of whom might, with a more resolute monarch than Louis XV., or a less stately one than Louis le Grand, have described his connection with it, in the Wolseyan phrase, *Ego et Rex meus*. Richelieu had terminated his rule in 1648; but he left his Political Testament for the benefit of Mazarin particularly, who, with equal ambition and more greed, filled his onerous post till 1661. In his correspondence he also left a political testament, no less suggestive to aspiring Churchmen. Traditions of the grandeur of these statesmen were cultivated in the colleges and cloisters of France, and brought forth fruit in due season in De Retz and Du Bois.

The contemporary of Bishop Atterbury, whose notice he first attracted during his sojourn in France, was that politic Churchman mentioned by Louis XIV.:—"I have been conversing with a man—a young man—who has contradicted me in everything, yet pleased me in everything." Still more favourable to him as a courtier and a diplomatist was the remark made to him after an audience by Pope Alexander VIII.:—"You seem always, sir, to be of *my* opinion; yet in the end establish *your own*." His skill as a negotiator was a matter of course; it was fully proved while he acted as plenipotentiary to the States of Holland in 1710, and concluded the Peace of Utrecht in the two following years. For such services he secured the red hat, a reward for statesmanship in France more frequently than for churchmanship. Cardinal Melchior de

Polignac, however, in the Regency of Louis XV., did not have it all his own way. He had been banished to his Abbey in the year 1718, but returned to power a year or two before the arrival in Paris of the English Bishop, and left France for Rome soon after the latter commenced his ministerial duties. Cardinal de Polignac was not only a great ecclesiastic, but a distinguished scholar and philosopher, worthy of the exile's intimate association.

The only French prelate who had since interested himself in his affairs, was the Bishop of Frejus, whose negotiations respecting the Pretender could not have proceeded far without some acquaintance with the Pretender's able plenipotentiary. The French Bishop had made the most of his opportunities for winning the favour of the young King; this he cultivated with remarkable assiduity, but as he aspired to be a Minister of State, he longed for that remarkable head-dress which pre-eminently indicated the French Minister. This occasioned an apparently deeper interest in the affairs of the Pope's protegé; it was indirectly manifested, and with diplomatic caution worthy of one who desired to tread in the footsteps of Mazarin and Richelieu, whom he desired to succeed as successfully in the royal cabinet, as he had succeeded Bossuet and Fénélon in the royal study.

The Cardinal's hat was procured for him through the influence of the Emperor; and André Hercule de Fleury in 1726 became also the chief minister of Louis XV. The Walpoles were indefatigable in their efforts to propitiate Cardinal de Fleury; nevertheless, he did not suffer himself to be drawn into

any act of direct hostility to the unacknowledged plenipotentiary of "the Pretender." The nearest approach to it took the shape of a jealousy of the English Protestant prelate's influence with French ecclesiastics. It should be remembered that this was a period marked by a division in the Gallican Church as distinct as that which had separated the Anglican; but the Jansenists and the Jesuits were far more antagonistic than had ever been the partizans of High and Low Church. The Cardinal seems to have been apprehensive lest the Protestant Bishop should contribute his remarkable talent to aggravate the quarrel. It does not appear, however, that the latter afforded cause of offence in this direction.

Just at this time, an eminent preacher, known as Père Courayer, chose to give his attention to English ordinations in so friendly a spirit as to draw responses from the Archbishop of Canterbury and other dignitaries of the Anglican Establishment.

An idea appears to have been entertained of the amalgamation of the Gallican and Anglican Churches; but it was not proposed nor really advanced by the Canon of St. Génévière. In the year 1723 he published privately, in France, a work in two volumes* on the validity of English ordinations, and the succession of Bishops of the Anglican Church. The talent it displayed was acknowledged by its eager perusal in France, and rapid translation into English. The excitement it created on one side the Channel was

* Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois, et sur la Succession des Evesques de l'Eglise Anglicane: avec les Preuves justificatives des Faites avancés dans cet Ouvrage.

not lessened by the fierce attacks made upon the book by two rival preachers, Père le Quien and Père Hardouin, to which Courayer in the year 1726 replied in four volumes, combining a defence of his Dissertation with a demolition of the arguments of his opponents.*

His audacity aroused greater men than the good fathers by whom he had been attacked—among them the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, as well as the Bishop of Marseilles; and in an assembly of Bishops he was severely censured. Other zealous Catholics abused him in print, and having chosen a quiet retreat in the provinces for continuing his studies, he was peremptorily directed to take up his residence at the priory of Hennemonte, about four leagues from Paris. Here he became acquainted with Atterbury, who, no doubt, took a warm interest in the controversy he had been carrying on, and probably contributed to his obtaining from the University of Oxford the honour of a Doctor of Divinity degree in August of the following year, for which Courayer returned his cordial acknowledgments in a Latin letter, dated the 1st of December. About this it is not improbable that Atterbury was consulted, for they were much together at the period, Père Courayer visiting the Protestant prelate, and the Bishop returning it at the Roman Catholic priory. Their regard for each other was shown by an interchange of counsel and gifts, Courayer presenting his

* Défense de la Dissertation sur la Validité, &c., contre les différentes Réponses qui y ont été faites, &c.

friend with his portrait, which was immediately hung up in the Bishop's study.

This association embittered the animosity of his antagonists to such an extent that it was no longer safe for Courayer to remain in France. About the commencement of the year 1728 he obtained leave from his superiors to remove to Senlis—a much longer journey was intended. Atterbury's interest in Père Courayer was shown by his engaging a trusty Englishman to accompany him to the coast. When they reached Calais the guide wrote, announcing their safe arrival, using the fictitious signature "J. Sparrow." To this the good father added in his own hand,—

Cette lettre, Milord, me dispense d'y rien ajouter que vous vous marquer ce que je dois à M. Sparrow, qui a eu pour mois toutes les attentions possibles. C'est une nouvelle obligation que je vous ai de m'avoir recommandé à un si honnête homme, et un nouveau motif de vous renouveller mes reconnoissances. J'aurai l'honneur de vous écrire quand serai en Angleterre.*

Notice of his coming having been forwarded, Lord Percival sent his carriage and six horses to convey the reverend fugitive from Greenwich to his lordship's house in town, which he was desired to make his home. He was well supplied with funds. The Primate, with Bishops Hare, Sherlock, and some other prelates, acted with similar liberality; indeed, quite a stir was made throughout the country by the advent of this eminent convert. Previously to his flight, the Father had addressed a letter to

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, V., 101. This letter is endorsed by the Bishop "Mr. A.'s with Père Courayer's P.S."

the Archbishop of Paris, giving his reasons for abandoning the Church of Rome, and as these were published in France as well as in England, they had intensified the indignation of Cardinal de Fleury. As Father Courayer had been honoured with a Doctor's degree by the University of Oxford in the preceding August, the Cardinal had little difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the English prelate had been active in producing both the reasons and the degree. The result will appear in the Bishop's letters. At present his solicitude was for his daughter, whose case, he had become aware, was growing critical.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, January 28, 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I am forced to use my neighbour's hand, being a little ill of the gout. It is only to tell you that I shall be concerned till I hear Mrs. Morice is perfectly right, and I am pleased to find her physician is more diligent than he used to be in his attendance. Thomé has no other failure but that, and is, I fear, never to be thoroughly cured of it. He sent me his directions for Mrs. Morice so late on Saturday that it could not go by that post, but I now enclose them. I have also a bottle of the elixir, containing four ounces, well made up for carriage, and I want only a proper hand to convey it.

I hear nothing of the books, nor of the person expected by Mr. Cotton, and wonder much at the delay. All my neighbours known to you and Mrs. Morice are well, and I am ever, &c.

I am promised by Dr. Thomé the receipt of the elixir to enable Mrs. Morice to compound it herself.*

The Bishop's daughter, though far from con-

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 94.

valescent, wrote to Paris as soon as she learnt that her father was suffering from a return of his old complaint:—

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, June 23, 1727-8.

Dear Papa,

I am willing to make use of my pen, though my fingers are not yet so well as to let me write with ease. I can't pretend, therefore, to set about answering the kind letters I have lately had from you. Such a task would be too much for me at present, and I attempt writing this only to tell you how sorry I am to hear you have a return of your gout so soon again, and that I hope it will be soon gone. As my hand won't allow me to write much had I ever so much to say, I choose to send you something that may entertain you, instead of a letter, and send you the King's speech.

Mr. Morice has received Dr. Thomé's further directions about me, which I'll observe as far as I have occasion for them and can understand them. He writes in French, and the terms of art he uses are not so easily understood here; but Mr. Morice will explain in another letter. He sends his duty, to which I add mine, and am, &c.

I hope the good old gentleman at the College near you is able to visit you when you ask him.*

The scandal occasioned by the conversion of Père Courayer caused Cardinal de Fleury to direct an officer of justice to wait upon Atterbury to ascertain what share he had in the transaction. That official appears to have conducted himself on the occasion with such well bred courtesy that the Bishop wrote the following acknowledgment: he took the opportunity of giving an equally well bred hint to the Cardinal, which there is reason to believe was not lost upon this distinguished Churchman:—

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 95.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE LIEUTENANT DE POLICE.

February $\frac{5}{16}$, 1727-8.

Sir,

Though the occasion of your seeing me could not be very agreeable to a person in my circumstances, yet the issue of that visit was such as I shall always reflect on with gratitude and pleasure. You were pleased to treat me in the most obliging manner; you promised to do me justice to the Cardinal (to whom I had been misrepresented) and to others, as you had occasion; and I have the satisfaction to find, from some accounts which have reached me, that you have every way answered that honourable character which all the world gives you.

Sir, it becomes me to acknowledge this to you and to everybody. I should have waited upon you to this purpose would my infirmities have suffered me. Since they will not, this is the only way in which I can pay you my acknowledgments.

At the same time permit me to ask one favour more of you; and, from the experience I have already had of your goodness, I promise myself that you will not deny it me. The Cardinal may possibly have other reports made to him to my disadvantage: should that happen, what I beg of his Eminence is that, before they make impression, he would please to let them some way be communicated to me, that I may satisfy him (as I shall do with all sincerity and frankness) what real ground there is for them, before he takes notice of them in a manner that cannot but be highly prejudicial to me. He will have more light from me, in such a case, than from all the world besides; and, from the natural manner in which I shall open myself, will be better able to judge of my conduct than by any other informations. They may, perhaps, be founded on partiality or mistake; but from me he shall always have the very truth (as far as I myself am concerned), whatever may be the consequence of owning it. I well know my situation here, as a stranger, and on other accounts, and shall be careful to do nothing that misbecomes it; or, if I do, shall be the first man to condemn it myself, as soon as it appears to me.

Pardon the trouble of this new request, which arises from the favourable reception you gave to a former.—I am, &c.*

* Atterbury Papers. Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, IV., 109. The Bishop transmitted a copy of the foregoing letter to Mr. Morice, subjoining the

The following answer was returned by the courteous official :—

LE LIEUTENANT DE POLICE À MONS. L'EVEQUE DE ROCHESTER.

Milord, A Paris, ce $\frac{16}{27}$ Febrier, 1727–8.

J'ai reçeu la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'ecrire, et je n'avois pas tant tardi à y repondre, sans une incommodité que m'est survenue. On ne sçauroit estre plus flaté que je le suis de toutes les politesses que vous me marqués, et de la confiance que vous avés pris dans la conduitte que j'ay tenue à votre egard. Son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal de Fleury, à j'ay communiqué vos sentiments, m'a chargé de vous marquer qu'il en estoit infiniment satisfait, et que vous pouvés compter qu'il s'interposeroit toujours avec zele pour vous laisser joüer dans ce royaume de la consolation et de la tranquillité que vous y avés trouvé. Ce ministre m'a seulment chargé de vous representer que le Roy desiroit que les Jansenistes ne trouvassent après de vous n'y resources, n'y conseils, et que vous eloignasses surtout de vôtre hostel quelques prêtres dont la doctrine est contraire à celle de l'Eglise Romaine, et qui sa Majesté veut qui soit uniformement observé dans tous ses états. J'ay bien assuré son Eminence que rien ne m'avoit paru plus conformé à vos dispositions, et que vous étiés plus instruit que personne de ce que la qualité d'étranger vous imposoit de devoirs de prudence et de circonspection. Monseigneur le Cardinal de Fleury m'a au surplus chargé de vous dire, Milord, qu'on ne vous refuseroit dans ce pays cy aucuns des agréments que vous merités, et que s'il luy venoit quelques nouveaux raports, il commeneroit par vous en faire part à vous même, étant bien convaincu de tout la sincerité avec laquelle vous luy repondriés.

Je suis, avec l'estime la plus parfaite et le respect le plus inviolable, Milord, notre trés humble et trés obeissant Serviteur, HERAULT.*

Fortunately the affair blew over with this interchange of suggestions between the two great diplo-

following note : "With this English letter, which was in my own hand, I sent in the hand of another a French copy of it."—W. M. It has been printed *verbatim*.

* Atterbury Papers. Interesting sketches of the Cardinals De Polignac and De Fleury may be found in *Mémoires de Marquis D'Argenson*.

matists of rival faiths. The Cardinal was in confidential communication with Walpole, and determined to cherish the English alliance; and if Bishop Atterbury had committed any questionable act, would, there is no doubt, have sent him out of the country. As if Walpole was aware of what had been going on, the Bishop's next letter to the Morices was stopped in London, opened, resealed, and forwarded the day after its proper delivery.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, February $\frac{7}{17}$, 1727–8.

Dear Mr. Morice,

Nothing could be more welcome to me than your letter of January $\frac{2}{13}$. I thank you a thousand times for it. Unluckily it found me just seized with a new fit of the gout, which I am now but so far freed from as to be able to answer it. Another accident has happened, which has necessarily taken up a little of my time and thoughts. A message has been sent me by the Lieutenant de Police of this place, from the King and the Cardinal in relation to Père Courayer's retreat into England, which they supposed me to have facilitated; and that all the methods taken by him in that respect, and towards defending the Ordinations of the Church of England, had been concerted with me. I said what was true on that head, without disguise; and, after an hour's conversation, did, I think, satisfy the Lieutenant that I had done nothing but what became me. He owned as much, and promised to make his report accordingly, and to justify me, not only *à la cour* but *à la ville;* and he has been as good as his word, and behaved himself on this occasion with all honour and with all civility towards me; so that I look upon that matter as quieted. But a great noise having been made about it at Paris, and different reports spread concerning what passed in that conference, and concerning the event of it, I was willing to let you know the truth of matters, that neither Mrs. Morice nor you might be under any needless alarm.

I shall be very glad to find that she has the use of her hands again; for her last letter to me pleased me much, especially that part of it which promised more of the same kind, and frequently.

It grieved me that she had so good (or rather so bad) a reason for not keeping her word. I have had the elixir Dr. Thomé ordered to be made for her now a good while without lighting on a proper opportunity to send it. The first minute I find one it shall come; and I hope to be able to send her the recipe for making it. Dr. Thomé has promised it me. He is here now in the highest credit, and employed by persons of great quality among the French themselves; for which reason I do not see him so often as formerly, though he owes, in great measure, the reputation he has to the friendly services I have done him. I am not angry with him on this account; but rather pleased that he is employed so well to the advantage of himself and others: and, I thank God, I have no great need of him myself; for the gout is so old an aquaintance of mine, that I know pretty well how to deal with it without the help of a physician; and, when I really want him, I verily believe he will not fail me.

You say nothing of your children, so I hope they are well; and that your mother * enjoys her health, to whom my service.

I write not to you this time about my money affairs, having not time; and having already written you a long letter. I shall write to Mr. M——n by this post. Love and blessing to dear Mrs. Morice! I am, &c.

I have the books—*i. e.* Littleton's Dictionary, Æsop's Fables, the Short Grammar, and the Construction of it—and expect what remains by the first opportunity. I have also some papers in columns, sent two different ways in two different packets, I know not by what channel.

Bishop Gastrell's book † has never reached me; and yet I have the greatest desire to read it: pray venture another by a surer hand, and withal send me the piece which Voltaire has lately

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* Alice, relict of Thomas Morice, Esq., Paymaster of the British Forces in Portugal, where he died in 1713, and daughter of Sir William Underhill, Knt., of Idlicote, in Warwickshire. She inherited the loyal principles of her father, who joined the standard of his sovereign Charles I. at the battle of Edge Hill, in that county, in 1642; and who lived long enough to appear at a Court of Queen Anne, in the same coat which had been perforated by some shot on that memorable occasion. She died in 1733.—W. M.

† "A Moral Proof of the Certainty of a Future State," 8vo, Lond., 1725. Bishop Gastrell died November 15, 1725, soon after this tract (to which his name was not prefixed) was first published. A second edition of it appeared in 1728. —W. M.

printed in English. I suppose it is of a size that may come by the post; if not, take some other way; for there is a French gentleman of his acquaintance whom I have promised a sight of it.* That gentleman has learned English, and desires me to recommend some new English book to him to be translated. I know of none. If your Twitnam friend does, I should be glad he would name it to you, that you may procure and send it me. He knows the books that have any credit with you, and are likely to have any here when translated. I am as much a stranger to anything of that kind as if I were not an Englishman; and yet I am resolved to live and die truly such, however my country may have used me.

I wrote to you by the post† this day an account of a message sent me from the King and the Cardinal, by the Lieutenant de Police, in relation to Père Courayer. It has made a great noise here; but the truth is as I have told you. I did not mince the matter to the magistrate, nor am at all ashamed of what has happened, or concerned for it. I owned my friendship for Père Courayer; told them frankly a great deal more than they knew of that matter, as far as I was concerned; and thought there was no reason to wonder at, or blame, my conduct. I convinced them of that point, and I believe there is an end of it. I showed the Lieutenant the picture of Père Courayer hanging up in my room; told him I had visited Courayer in his retreat at Hanment [Hennemonte] while he was in disgrace there; and that he came to take his leave of me the night before he left Paris; and that in all this I thought I had done nothing that misbecame me. If you see Père Courayer, let him know these circumstances.

Pray call in as soon as you can the £800 mortgage lent to Roger Burgoigne. No interest is paid, and I am a little solicitous about the principal; and would by all means have you call it in, and employ it another way. The £150 you expected from another hand should be now £200: as soon as you receive, you will return it.

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* The "French gentleman" was doubtless Mons. Thiriot, with whom the reader will become acquainted presently. He was at this period one of the few Frenchmen permitted to be intimate with the exile. They cultivated a very sincere regard for each other.

† This supplementary letter went by a private hand.

If the Westminster School verses are printed, you will send them me. I have for some time expected that the thing would end there. Do not send me the speech at the opening of the session. I shall have it another way. What you mean by "the proper instructions for teaching a young gentleman Latin," I know not; nor did I ever receive them. Mr. H. brought only the printed books I have already named to you.

Father John is infinitely pleased with his hat, and perhaps you may have one of his familiar epistles to express his thanks to you for it.

I am glad the fee-farm rent is come in entire. You have left me a good deal of money, and I have been at a good deal of charge. Twenty guineas went, you know, in one gift, and ten in another. I have just bought a new horse for the coach, which cost me 406 livres, and was forced to sell the old one for 12 livres; and I must make new liveries this spring, which serve me two years with a little management. These and other extraordinary expenses will exhaust me in some months; but hitherto I am well in cash.

I told you the brawn was excellent, but some of it was spoiled before I could make use of it; so I will give you no more troubles of that kind. Send me word how the part I have acted as to Père Courayer is relished, and what is said of the usage I have received on that occasion.

Of the affair of the person * who is intended for travel, I send you an account in a separate paper. I am sorry I could do it no sooner.

I suppose the lace-money is paid you. If not, place it to my account.†

February $\frac{3}{14}$, 1727–8.

The inquiry made by the Bishop for a composition in English by Voltaire refers to the celebrated essay, which he appears to have written and published in 1726; again, with some additions, the following year; and subsequently employed as an introduction to his celebrated poem, "La Henriade," for which he was

* The young Duke of Buckingham. † Atterbury Papers.

then in England soliciting subscriptions. This eminent littérateur and philosopher also wrote in English a complimentary poem, addressed to one of the maids of honour, and dedicated "La Henriade" to Queen Caroline. He sent a copy of the English essay, with an English letter, to Dean Swift, soliciting a subscription for his epic, and dated from "London, Maiden Lane, at the White Peruke, Covent Garden, December 14, 1727." "La Henriade" was published in London the following year.

The next communication is a mingling of business and politics, with a reference to Pope's relations with the kind-hearted Duchess equally suggestive.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

My honoured Lord, Westminster, February $\frac{9}{20}$, 1727-8.

The bearer has given me so little notice of his leaving London that it is impossible for me to write so fully as I intended by him; however, I send the enclosed paper, which I suppose will give you the satisfaction you desired. The lawyer who drew the draft thought it best to mention matters only as they appeared in the last account made up between us, and to leave anything that may have arisen since that time to be adjusted in the next. The deed therefore bears date in December last; before which time there became no alteration in matters between us. I have very lately received a little money on your account; but I shall take another occasion to write upon your money affairs. I think the enclosed paper sets forth all the particular securities, &c., I have of yours. The little green book, in which my accounts with you are entered will show you whether I have made any mistake. I do not keep an exact duplicate of your last account for reasons you may guess, and am always desirous to keep matters of that kind in such a way that, were the Ministry at any time to lay hold of my papers, they might not be able to come at anything to hurt you or myself. But I believe my memory, helped by some little notes, serves me pretty right, and that you will find little or no error in the

enclosed paper. Pray let me know if you do, that I may set it right in another.

I have by this conveyance sent some printed papers, which I understand are intended to be bound up before the works of the late Duke of Buckingham: there is the account of the pedigree of the Sheffield family, the late Duke's will, and a sort of *character* of his Grace. The papers were put into my hands that I might receive your opinion upon them. I think the *character* shows that the Duchess bears a very great respect for his memory; but methinks everything in it does not deserve printing. Our Twickenham friend has no doubt been concerned in drawing it up; but the Duchess has certainly added some things, for nobody else could possibly add them.

In a little time another good opportunity of writing to you will present itself; and Mrs. Morice resolves not to let it slip, but to prepare her letter rather beforehand. She is vexed the bearer goes without any, but as she has spent most of this day at Buckingham House, she has really not had time to write.

Sir Robert Walpole seems to be better established in his Ministry every day, and is said to have publicly declared in the House of Commons, that his present Majesty is resolved to pursue the late King's measures, and to make use of the same set of men. The late Speaker has lost his interest pretty much at Court; and nobody entertains for him that esteem he might have expected, had he shown a proper spirit and put himself forward at first. It is now I believe out of his power, and he must content himself with the lowest seat in the Upper House. If the Court of Spain recedes, and comes into the terms proposed from hence, so that a Congress ensue and peace be made, Sir Robert is certainly Prime Minister for life. I hear nothing of any Acts of Grace.

The public prints will tell you by how great a majority Colonel Robinson has carried the election of Chamberlain in opposition to the greatest efforts of the Court party; which must mortify them very much.

I sent lately, by Mr. Hall, a Littleton's large Dictionary, a Westminster Grammar, and a Construction of it, together with Æsop's Fables, all nicely bound in morocco. I should be glad to hear that they were come safe to you, and that you approve of them. I think they are properly bound to serve a young

gentleman of quality. Mr. Hall also carried instructions for teaching according to the Westminster Grammar. I likewise sent by him a hat, which he promised to deliver to Mr. Waters, to whom I desire you would please to send after it. It is my present to Father John; and you will be so good as to give it him in my name.

I have not heard whether you received my chaise back from Calais, together with all the tackling. My friend writes me word he sent it up long ago.

Poor Dr. Brydges* is come to town very ill with a dropsy and jaundice. Dr. John Freind has him under his care, and says, if ever he recovers it will be a great cure. Indeed I am afraid he never will. Bishop Bradford is not like to hold long; and Dr. Robert Freind is talked of to succeed in the bishopric and deanery; but I do not believe it.—I am, &c.†

The *éclat* created by Courayer's escape to England, and his complimentary reception on his safe arrival there, excited much clamour in France against the Protestant Bishop. Cardinal de Fleury appears to have been not only satisfied with the explanation of Atterbury, but from that time entered into closer, if not more friendly, relations with him.

Father Courayer did not let his talents lie idle when he had reached a place of security. In the year 1729 he published an elaborate defence of his conduct, proving that his flight from France had been a matter of necessity.‡ He subsequently wrote several original works and translations. Though he may be said to have abandoned the Roman Catholic faith, he never regularly entered the communion of

* Whom Bishop Atterbury had made Archdeacon of Rochester.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

‡ "Relation Historique et Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite de P. le Courayer, chanoine regulier de St. Généviève, avec les preuves justificatives des faits avancé dans l'ouvrage." Amsterdam, 2 tomes.

the Church he professed so greatly to admire. Even in opinions not published till many years after his death, if he does not declare himself a Socinian, or Baptist, or Unitarian, it is impossible to say what he was. It is doubtful whether he had very clear ideas on religion, his last productions* being especially wavering and undetermined. Perhaps it would have been more to Père Courayer's advantage could he have remained longer enjoying Atterbury's Protestant instructions, and his Protestant consistency.

The visit of M. Herault created no slight excitement in London, especially in the mind of the anxious daughter. She expresses her feeling in her next letter; nor does she spare her indignation against the unwarrantable tampering with her father's communications with his family. As will be shown in the sequel, the Walpolean policy was a dastardly one, and could only be kept up by means of constant corruption and espionage.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

February ⅛, 1727–8.

Dear Papa,

We heard the news of the Lieutenant de Police's visit to you a day sooner than we received your letter, and I was under the greatest uneasiness for the issue of it; which would all have been prevented if some folks had not been so ill-natured as to keep back your letter twenty-four hours; for it came not to Mr. Morice's hands till the day after all other letters by the same post were delivered out, and after having been visibly opened and a seal put to it, which we are very sure you never made use

* "Declaration de mes Derniers Sentimens sur les differens Dogmes de la Religion," &c., 1787. "Traité où l'on expose ce qui l'Ecriture nous apprend de la Divinité de Jesus Christ." Both works were edited by Dr. Bell, Prebendary of Westminster.

of: but these things we must bear. I am overjoyed at the good event of the Lieutenant's conference with you: we think, since he has acted so honourably, it will turn much to your advantage and quiet hereafter; as it does at present to your honour and reputation. Mr. Morice saw a letter in which this affair was mentioned, and in which it was said the Lieutenant gave you great commendations and allowed you to be a person of a fine genius.

The account you give me of Doctor Thomé's rising credit and success is one of the most agreeable pieces of news you could send me, next to your being well and under no apprehensions that you shall want any physician yourself. I hope that will long be the case. As to my own health, it is growing rather better, and I continue following Doctor Thomé's directions, and desire his answer to the enclosed paper. The bottle of elixir will be welcome whenever it arrives.

All my children are well and in the country, whither I intend to go to settle very soon; and from thence you shall be troubled sometimes with a letter from, dear papa, your affectionately dutiful daughter, MARY MORICE.

Good Dr. Brydges is given over by the phpsicians, and lies at the point of death.*

* Atterbury Papers.

CHAPTER XI.

RETIRED FROM SERVICE.

The Chevalier Ramsay—Ill-health of Mrs. Morice—The Bishop's Anxiety—State of his Income—Walpole and Pulteney—The Bench of Bishops—Atterbury's recent Literary Productions—Dr. Freind referred to in One of them—Pulteney removed from the Lieutenancy of Yorkshire—The Freinds and Walpole—Report of Atterbury having left James—Duchess of Buckingham—Dr. Hugh Chamberlain—Honest Shippen—Mary Morice's Objections to her Father's Intention of Travelling—Death of Dr. John Freind—Walpole's Influence on Cardinal Fleury to the Prejudice of Atterbury—The Bishop's Modest Opinion of his own Compositions—His Objections to the "Dunciad"—Pranks of the Duke of Wharton at Paris—St. Luke as a Portrait Painter—The Bishop determines to Travel—Countess of Mar and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—Atterbury expresses his Intention of Wintering at Montpelier.

THE state of Mrs. Morice's health excited alarm in the mind of her father, and though Dr. Freind, in London, and Dr. Thomé, in Paris, were consulted, their opinions apparently did not inspire him with confidence. Her system had received a shock—at his first imprisonment—from which it never entirely recovered, and, constantly brooding over his unworthy treatment, and her own inability to remedy the crying injustice of which he had been the victim, preyed

on a constitution naturally delicate. She was evidently growing extremely feeble.

There are a few literary notes in the next communication, and not a very recommendatory one of a production by one of the writer's Jacobite colleagues, "the Chevalier Ramsay." Michael Ramsay's attempt at authorship was first produced in two volumes, with illustrations, in 1727, under the title "Travels of Cyrus, with a Discourse on Mythology." *

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Paris, March $\frac{4}{15}$, 1727-8.

My dear Heart,

I ought to have thanked you particularly for your letter of February $\frac{15}{26}$ before this time, and at the same time to have given you new (though needless) assurances of my uneasiness at the return of your old indisposition. I am this moment expecting a letter from Mr. Morice to satisfy me of the state of your health; and, if I am forced to seal up this without any account of it, shall be much troubled.

I want also to know what damage Mr. Morice, &c., will sustain at last by Mead's † breaking, for I am still in pain about that article, which, if rumours here are to be believed, touches one he wishes well to much deeper than he mentioned. Pray let me be satisfied on that head.

Tell him I have received the two little books he lately sent me, and should be glad to know, the post after this comes to hand, what all the books he sent me of late come to, that I may charge them accordingly. I wrote to him for Voltaire's "English Ode," and his "Reflections on Epic Poetry," but not for his "Henriade," which I hear is too dear a book for me to purchase. The public papers tell me I have written a letter to

* It was translated into French in 1730, and several editions of it were published in English. The Author subsequently wrote "An Essay upon Civil Government," 1732; a "History of the Viscount de Turenne," 1735; and "Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion Explained and Unfolded in a Geometrical Order," 2 vols. 4to, 1749.

† A London banker.

Mr. Pope, which is news to me. I have some right to see it, methinks, and nobody sure will be against its being transmitted to me by the common post; for, as it must be a libel against me, it cannot be worth while to keep it from me.

I am got well, my dear heart. I wish to have the same words from you. But my messenger is come back, and tells me there are no letters for me. I hope I shall hear of you by the next post, and am, &c.

I sent your husband my letter to the Lieutenant de Police, and his answer by the Cardinal's order. The matter has rested there, nor can it be of any inconvenience to me; so you may be at ease on that head. My blessing and love to him, and to all yours. Let me hear how you do.

Ramsay's book seems to have fallen in England, as it has done here, for I observe that it has not for some time been trumpeted in your advertisements. A French gentleman, who has a greater respect for our writers than his own, and none at all for Mr. Ramsay's performance, showed me a few words in Montaigne, liv. i., ch. 25, which, he frankly owned, would be properly placed in the first page of "Cyrus:"—

Un peu de chaque chose, et rien du tout à la Francoise.

Has your Twittenham friend any objection to this motto? *

There is evidently a break in the correspondence here. This may be accounted for by Mrs. Morice's increasing indisposition, but several letters sent by her husband, and the corresponding ones of her father, are missing. In May she again took up her residence in Holland House. The air of *the country* revived her, as it usually did, and she resumed her communications with the exile. Unfortunately the recent death of an old friend of her father threw a gloom over her thoughts, of which she was herself sensible, but probably her spirits were quite as much depressed by her low state of health,

* Atterbury Papers.

and the conviction that she could never live to be able to be of use to the chief object of her anxiety.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

May $\frac{8}{19}$, 1728.

Dear Papa,

I am now settled at Holland House for the summer, where I find my health rather mending, and nothing wanting to make the place entirely agreeable to me, were you at a less distance from it. Mr. Morice has written frequently to you, though my illnesses have made me a little negligent in that particular, else you had not been so long without my thanks for your letters of 16th of March and 7th of April, written with so much tenderness and affection towards me that no returns on my side can equal. The elixir is at length arrived. I will reserve it against the time I may want it, which I hope will not be soon; and that Dr. Freind's skill and care of me will in the end make such remedies useless. I am troubled to hear of poor Dr. Thomé's relapse. I heartily pity his misfortune, and wish it was in the power of anybody to do him as much good as he, when in his right senses, is capable and willing to do to others. I am not very easy at the frequent attacks you have lately had of your gout, or that, when it comes, it should mount higher than your toe. It is not indeed to be imagined you should ever be quite rid of it; a little touch now and then may probably be for the best; but I had always rather hear such news from yourself than anybody else, and shall be impatient till you convince me that you have recovered the use of your right hand.

I can give no good answer to your inquiries after Dr. Brydges. He went some time ago to Bath; but I hear he is much worse than he was, and the account of his death is daily expected. He has lived long enough to be mortified at the loss of his particular patron and friend, who is just gone before him; for on Thursday last died, at Bath, Mr. Drake,* of Amersham, at whose death Mr. Morice is greatly troubled; and as he was formerly very well known to you, so we are sensible you will also be concerned at it.

* Montague Gerrard Drake, Esq., of Shardeloes, M.P. for the borough of Amersham, in the county of Bucks.

The loss of friends is certainly the greatest affliction that can befal us on this side the grave, and the reflection of how many are gone off in a few years is apt to make one melancholy: but let us change the gloomy side of the prospect, and be comforted with the thought of some few being left behind, whom God preserve and continue to us!

I think this one of the most disagreeable letters I ever sent you. I hope you will receive few such for the future, and that I shall hear better news from your side of the water than I send you from hence.—I am ever, &c.*

The following business letter from the prudent son-in-law conveys a good deal of financial information, showing that the Bishop's income was likely to suffer a considerable decrease. After this unsatisfactory intelligence, the writer enters upon the subject of the Duchess of Buckingham's communication, in which it appears the Bishop had recommended that the young Duke should not travel at present. The Duchess had lost heavily by the failure of a London banker, but did not let this interfere with her amiable feelings.

The reader will also come upon traces of a rivalry which Walpole found more formidable than that of the more honourable opponent he had succeeded in getting rid of. The condition of the English hierarchy under Low Church auspices is also cleverly described. There is a remarkable intimation towards the conclusion, which is not likely to escape the reader's notice. If the gentleman named as dining with the writer at Holland House had been the husband of Mrs. Howard, "La Favorita" of the new King, the announcement that an apartment was being

* Atterbury Papers.

prepared there for the exile, till the deanery could be made ready for him, might be taken seriously; but, notwithstanding that an Act of grace was expected from the sovereign, the hatred which the head of the Government cherished against his victim made such an announcement nothing more than a *plaisanterie.* It will be seen, moreover, by the communication which follows, that their meeting this year was not contemplated.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1728.

My honoured Lord,

I have not such frequent opportunities of writing to you by private hands as you have to me; and generally, when I hear of a friend going your way, I have such short notice that I have scarce time to recollect my thoughts and put them into black and white. I am glad to hear, by yours of the 4th of May, that the books I sent you some time ago, and my letters by the same hand, have at last reached you, and that the complaint you make for want of hearing from me, in that private letter of the 18th of April, is removed. I shall now endeavour to answer as much of that letter as remains unanswered. The two hundred pounds in Cantillon's bill on Waters I suppose you received in due time: I sent it the very next post after Mr. Waters sent your orders about it.

As to your affairs in my hands, your frugality will, I doubt not, leave sufficient to answer any extraordinary accidents which may happen over and above your constant necessary expense; though they are not in some respects in so good a condition as when we parted, for (by the contrivance of a certain great person at the head of affairs in paying off several public debts, by coining paper instead of money, and drawing people in to be content therewith, or satisfied with a reduction of interest) all manner of interest is brought very low. Bonds which used to bear five are now continued at four per cent.; and at that rate of interest they bear a premium. Mortgages also are fallen in the interest; and Mr. Lynn, from whom I have £1,000 mortgage,

gave me notice the begnning of March last that he would pay me off at three months' end, unless I was willing to take for the future four per cent. I stood out against it; but, being sensible where he had just agreed to take up the money from another person, I thought it best to comply, and have agreed to let him have the money a year longer at four per cent., for, had it been paid in, I do not see how I could have disposed of it to better advantage.

Alderman Barber has also given me notice that the mortgage he has on an estate in Kent for £8,000 and upwards, wherein you know I am concerned £3,000 for you, has been offered to be paid off unless he agrees to lower the interest, which he must be obliged to consent to, and then I must do the same as to the proportion of the £3,000. Thus, you see, your annual income will be somewhat lessened; and as to your annuities from particular persons, one is gone by the loss of poor Mr. Drake, who was a very worthy man. He went off at Bath, after keeping his bed only two days. He sent to speak with me the night before he left London, and told me I should soon not fail of a bill from Bath for £50; but his sudden death (for nobody thought him so near his end, though he was not in a good state of health) prevented it.

Sir John Dolben* went lately abroad. He made so short a stay in town before he set out for Dover that I never heard of him till the night before he went away, so that I missed seeing him. I hope he will make amends on the other side of the water for his neglect of payments to me on this. As to the other annuity from my Welsh friend, he is a little dilatory in the payment, for I was to have received £50 last Lady Day which is yet behind hand; but I conclude it will be paid me soon. As to the annuity from the gentleman in the West, I have heard nothing about it since I came last over: that may come when not expected, as the last payment on that head did.

I have satisfied you, in more letters than one, as to your inquiries after Mead's bankruptcy, in which a lady of our acquaintance is much concerned. The printed papers, which you received from me some time ago, were sent in order for your

* The Rev. Sir John Dolben, Baronet. He, like many other distinguished clergymen of the Church of England, secretly supported the cause of James.

approbation and alteration. The impression of a few only being worked off signifies nothing: the lady thought it better to transmit a printed than a written copy, and nothing further will be done in it until the papers have received your correction; so pray send me over your directions at large upon them by the first opportunity. The person from whom I had them is entirely satisfied with the answer sent about the young gentleman's staying at home and not travelling yet, though that matter was thought on in earnest; and she continues all kindness and civility to Mrs. Morice. My undertaking the assigneeship has given me a great deal of trouble, and employs me four days out of seven; but, as it has given great satisfaction where I desire it should, I am pleased at the trouble I take. The accident of the banker's failing, with so large a sum of our friend's money* in his hands, has certainly occasioned the postponing of a New Year's gift, which I am pretty certain was intended and will in time be made up. You are oftener inquired after than before, and with more freedom and openness to me than ever; and you may rely upon a sure friend there as far as ever you think proper to try. At present you have no occasion for anything but what may come, and I believe without expecting it; and I fancy you will always be in the same case.

As to public news, Sir Robert Walpole is as absolute in power at present as ever, but Mr. Pulteney pushes him hard; and how long he will stretch the bow before it breaks nobody can tell; but the opinion of many knowing men is that he drives too fast not to be thrown at last. There is a fresh talk of an Act of grace: whether it will do any good to anybody but the present set of Ministers I cannot learn. Lord Mar's house is actually fitting up, and his family give out that he will be over very soon. I suppose he will not return home alone. Shall any of those memorials be sent about on this side?

Your books I have not yet taken out of the custody they were left in. That gentleman enjoys better health than he used to do; but I shall nevertheless soon take care of them. As to my dealings with Mr. H., you know that he has lately taken a wife, and does not visit, or suffer himself to be visited, so much as formerly. He is pretty often out of town. I mentioned the

* That of the Duchess of Buckingham.

matter of a banker to him so far as I judged proper; but finding he was a great friend to the banker in question, and had strongly recommended him to Horace Walpole, our famed Minister at Paris (as he has done to several other gentlemen), I thought it best not to push the matter closer. But if you insist on it, I will enter further into that point; and, as he still retains a great value and esteem for you, he may perhaps do anything that is pressed in your name to oblige you. I should add one thing more on this occasion, and tell you that the banker's brother is Mr. H.'s physician.

The Lincoln's Inn preacher, whom you inquire after, that has shown his parts in the pulpit against "The Beggars' Opera," is one Mr. Herring.* He was formerly chaplain to Bishop Fleetwood, and has set up for imitating that prelate's manner of preaching. He is generally reputed, I find, among the clergy as an ingenious man, and pretty well learned. The Court espoused his election as preacher at Lincoln's Inn in opposition to Dr. Mangey, who would otherwise have carried it, and probably he will gain further advantages from Court.

You desire the names of the present bishops, excepting such as you know and mention in your letter. There are others whom you must remember: however, I add all that you make no mention of in the enclosed list; and it is very certain that you judge right in thinking the Bench to be under a great degree of contempt. That it might become so was one reason why you were driven abroad, the Court not desiring any figure should be made by any that belong to it, and now they are pretty safe on that head. I cannot learn what expense the royal guest occasioned at Hitcham†. It is certain that Dr. John Freind made great preparations. Whether he will compass the making his brother Bob a bishop I much doubt, for Sir Robert Walpole has gained his point in relation to Church preferments; and you will scarcely hear of any more such promotions as Hare (who is now Bishop of St. Asaph) and Sherlock. Her Majesty, they say, consults and does nothing without Sir Robert's leave on that head.

I have brought this letter to a sufficient length, being not willing to lose the opportunity of writing by Mr. Howard, who

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* Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. † In Buckinghamshire.

takes a dinner with me at Holland House; and I have desired him to tell you how much we want to see you there. An apartment is ready for you till your own at the Deanery can be cleaned out and cleared of the rubbish it has contracted these five years past. I say nothing of Mrs. Morice, nor of my children. The bearer will tell you how they all do, by whom I had not time to write this long letter without leaving Mrs. Morice to entertain him. I believe I shall soon meet with another hand by which I may venture a letter. Till then I must take leave, and, begging your blessing on me and mine, bid you adieu!

WM. MORICE.

I would have written to you a fairer letter, but had not time.*

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Holland House, $\frac{\text{May 30,}}{\text{June 10,}}$ 1728.

Dear Papa,

The day after writing my last letter I had the comfort of seeing one from you to Mr. Morice, by which I found the gout was vanished and the use of your right hand restored. Since that I have the satisfaction of receiving one to myself, which, as it deserves my best and earliest acknowledgments, so I had paid them sooner, but last week Mr. Morice and I made an excursion into Buckinghamshire to pay our duty to the good old lady, his mother, at Hitcham. We rejoiced her with the account of your good health; and she was not afraid to charge us with her respects to you and her wishes for the long continuance of it.

I need not, dear papa, tell you how greatly I am pleased to find such improvement in your health. The news of it has certainly contributed to mine, which has grown daily better since I received so good an account of yours. Surenne is a place that struck my fancy the moment I saw it: if the air continues to agree with you, it will rise in my esteem. While I am mentioning it I cannot but call to mind the owners of it, for whom Mr. Morice and I have a real respect and regard, and could wish you would take an occasion of letting them know it. I should gladly excuse you this commission, and execute it myself in person, but our affairs will not let us travel this summer. The

* Atterbury Papers.

next I hope to spend with you, and in that hope shall make the intermediate time pass as agreeably as is possible.

You expect no news from me—you know how little I trouble myself about any; but being willing to supply the deficiency of my letter with any sort of helps, I enclose the King's speech, which has put an end to this session without an Act of grace. You have heard the ill news of Dr. Brydges following poor Mr. Drake: they are both very much regretted by all who knew them, and have, I believe, scarce left their equals behind them. Mr. Morice, who had a particular regard for them, has been so inquisitive about them as to obtain an authentic account of the apparent causes of their deaths. Such an account may probably be as welcome to you as anything of so melancholy a nature can be. I venture to send it you, though it will revive your concern for the loss of them, as it does mine. I begin to grow a little too thoughtful, so shall finish this with desiring your blessing on me and mine; and pray remember me always as, &c.*

In the summer of 1728 Bishop Atterbury left Paris to enjoy a little retirement in the country, preliminary to a change of residence, as he was desirous of withdrawing from duties he had found irksome and unprofitable. It is quite clear from the next communication that the Plenipotentiary had now found more time than he could have secured formerly for literary pursuits; several productions of his written at this period Mr. Morice names. His report of the Walpole ascendancy, and the rise of the Freinds, as well as of the rumours in circulation respecting the Bishop's reported retirement from his employment, will be found worthy of notice.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Holland House, $\frac{\text{June 25}}{\text{July 5}}$, 1728.

My honoured Lord,

Mr. Elliot (whom for the future I shall call Mr. Here-

* Atterbury Papers.

ford) has brought me all the papers and the four pamphlets you sent by him. I shall take care to distribute them properly. I forwarded your two letters to Father Courayer, who resides generally at Lord Percival's country seat near Blackheath; but as to the packet you mentioned to have sent, addressed to Mr. Langby, no such parcel is yet come to my hands. Mr. Hereford declares he never received any other than those already delivered to me, and it is not amongst them. I conclude, therefore, you must have sent it by some other hand. I wish it were arrived, that Père Courayer might be at ease on that head.

I cannot express to you the pleasure some of your late papers have given me, and in which Mrs. Morice also has taken her share. Your discourse on some verses in the Twelfth Æneid, and your version of Virgil's First Eclogue, are exceedingly beautiful: in both you have set a pattern which no genius that I know of can pretend to come up to. I have communicated a copy of the discourse* (for I am resolved to keep the original myself) to the physician.† He was mightily pleased upon casting his eye over a small part of it. I have not seen him since he has had time to consider the whole: it cannot fail giving him infinite pleasure, as your application of it to him does him vast honour. In a little time I suppose I shall have some sort of return to make you from him. The other piece‡ I shall put into the hands of our Twickenham friend in a day or two; for which purpose I design him a visit.

You have succeeded so well in the beginning and towards the end of Virgil's works that I shall long to see some more pieces of the same kind drawn from other parts of that excellent author, who can never have his works so finely illustrated by any other hand.

I design from henceforth to follow the rule you prescribe, and shall, *de die in diem*, set down everything that occurs worthy of your notice in a paper to be afterwards transmitted to you. I agree it will be an easy method for me; and it becomes me to comply with it as it is your desire. At present there is very little employ for me that way. There is a sort of stagnation of news; for it can be none to tell you that Sir Robert Walpole gains ground, and governs more absolutely than in the late

* "Reflections on the Character of Japis in Virgil." † Dr. John Freind.
‡ "A Version of the First Eclogue of Virgil."

reign. Mr. Pulteney's removal from the lieutenancy of one of the Yorkshire Ridings is one instance of Sir Robert's power, and of his resolution to crush all opposition with an high hand, and to rule with an absolute sway. It is certain there are powerful parties against him, but he seems to despise them all. The Earl of Scarborough (as well as the late Speaker)* is, I hear, among the disgusted; but nothing will be able effectually to shake the great man if affairs go on well at Soissons. All sides agree that his fate depends on the success of the negotiations there.

Dr. John Freind is a very assiduous courtier, and must grow so more and more every day, since his quondam friends and acquaintances shun and despise him; and whenever he happens to fall in the way of them, he looks methinks very sillily. He is in great hopes (as I have heard) of obtaining a bishopric for his brother Bob, and not without expectation of placing him in the See of Rochester and Deanery of Westminster if old Bradford† would be so kind as to make way for him. In that case, he is (as it is said in the family) to be preceptor to Prince William. But this scheme I scarce believe will ever be compassed, for the great Sir Robert Walpole not only hates but despises the family of the Freinds; and, while his power lasts at the pitch it now is, they will never be able to obtain such extended views.

I am glad to find, from the tenor of all your late letters and the way of spending your time, that you are so much at ease in body and mind, and that you have at last taken up the resolution of doing yourself justice by drawing up your case; which the world expects to see one day or other, and your friends and well-wishers are often questioning me about it. The noise of your having quitted the banker‡ reached me here before it came over from your side the water. It gave occasion to various reports, and I have heard was publicly talked of at St. James's. Some said you were discarded upon a discovery that you were making your peace, and paving your return home again, at the expense of the person who had entrusted you with his affairs. Others would have it that you found you were betrayed in every step you took, in relation to that person, by agents with whom you

* Sir Spencer Compton.

† The successor of Atterbury in those two churches.

‡ That is, withdrawn from the service of James.

were obliged to act in concert; and therefore, as you could do no good, you took the part to retire. Others reported that you had enjoyed a pension of four thousand per annum from this Government ever since you were abroad; that it might now be a fit time to call you home again, and your leaving Paris was a step towards it. Many other idle reports were raised, and put into the mouths of proper tools to disperse them.

Some people argued here, in the same manner as they did at Paris, that it looked as if matters went very ill in somebody's favour when the only person abroad capable of doing service to him or his cause had not the management of it, but seemed to give it up for lost. Others, who formerly had other sentiments than they have at present, said it was no wonder if you had at last quitted the trouble of conducting a cause (supposing you had the principal management of it) which was visibly expiring; and that you chose to get rid of a person who will never do himself any good, but will (first or last) treat every one ill without regard to merit or sufferings.

These are the chief reports which I have met with, grounded upon your retirement into the country, at which some folks seem glad and others sorry; but on all hands it is agreed that the interest of a certain person must suffer very much by it, for the imagination (whether well grounded or not) that you heartily espoused his cause gave him a sort of credit which he may find the want of hereafter; and nobody, as I can learn, lays any blame on you for quitting (supposing you ever were in that person's affairs), but on him for suffering you to retire, and having, as they suppose, given occasion for it.

This is all I have at present to say on this subject, more than that a certain great lord and lawyer was very inquisitive about the truth of the report at a certain lady's hotel of our acquaintance, but the lady could not satisfy him anything about it.

You may be sure I miss no opportunity of acquainting my neighbour in the park with your state in every respect, who loves to hear of you. I was questioned there about your retirement, which seemed to give some concern. It was immediately judged that a certain great relation * would suffer by it, and lose a good share of his interest by not showing you more regard.

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* The exiled Prince.

Some of our late letters have been filled with the melancholy news of the death of friends. Last week we lost another. On Monday evening died poor Dr. Chamberlen, after a lingering illness. His death indeed was not so great a surprise, as that it did not happen sooner. He had been visibly decaying a long time. The young Duke of Buckingham will have a loss in him; for it is to his tender care of him that his Grace in a great measure owes his life. The Duchess also will greatly miss him, and is sensibly concerned at the loss. He died at Buckingham House; from whence her Grace immediately retired, and is not to return till after the funeral. Three days before his death (when it was to be read in his face) Mrs. Morice and I were admitted to see him. He inquired very affectionately after you, and desired us not to forget his service to you.*

I some time ago told you of an intention there was of sending the young duke to Paris. It was designed in good earnest, as you will see by the enclosed part of a letter to me, and that somebody's opinion to the contrary hindered it. Your advice is of the greatest weight there; and whatever friends you may happen to lose (as some very good ones have gone off lately) there remains one who will, I dare say, make as much amends as is possible for the loss of others. I have reason to believe so, and that you in time will find so. My Welsh friend is gone out of town without discharging the annuity; but he did not go without seeing me, and assuring me that it should be paid when he returned.

In a letter of yours some considerable time ago you seemed not very earnest whether I pushed the matter about changing bankers with Mr. H—— very strongly or not. I did, at my first coming over, just touch upon that string, but found that H. had a strong inclination in favour of Mr. A., and that it

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* Dr. Hugh Chamberlen was descended from a family of Court physicians who had attended the Stuarts from the reign of James I. They invented the obstetric forceps. Dr. Hugh also published a translation of Mauriceau's Midwifery. He, like many of his professional brethren, was a good scholar, and contributed an Epithalamium on the marriage of the Princess Anne with Prince George of Denmark, published in the "Hymenæus Cantabrigiensis." He was very intimate with Atterbury, whom he attended during his incarceration. Another distinguished patient, the young Duke of Buckingham, at his own expense, caused a handsome monument to be raised to his memory in Westminster Abbey, for which he requested the exiled Bishop to write a suitable inscription.

would not be any easy point to prevail over him to take the business, which he himself had put into A.'s hands, out of them again. I therefore have desisted from mentioning and pressing the matter a second time; but can yet do it if you insist upon it, though I believe it will scarce be worth while, for Mr. H. is declining apace. He had the other day a terrible shock, which had like to have carried him off; and, if he should happen to drop, it will be an easy point for me to recommend such a banker for the future as you desire. Now I am mentioning Mr. H., it is not improper to acquaint you that you are very high in his esteem. He visits me pretty often purely to inquire after your health and prosperity. I am apt to think he has it in his head to do something, and show his regard for you in his will. This conjecture I draw from his just hinting his surprise to me the other day that nothing of that kind has happened since your exile upon the death of those who were you known well-wishers.* Such a design, if he has it, should surely be a little encouraged: the example may have a very good effect. What if you took occasion by some private hand, of kindly mentioning him in such a manner as you judge proper for me to let him see? I think it would not be amiss. He often inquires touching your circumstances, and says people were not so generous as they ought to have been, and believes one reason of your retirement may be to save expenses. I hope my private letter per Mr. Howard, of 8th of May, reached you safe. I then gave you some account of your affairs, so there is no necessity of doing it now. Mr. Hereford [Elliot] carries the two volumes of the Bishop of Coventry's† defence of his book about Scripture Prophecies.‡

I think I have now answered every paragraph of your letters except one, which is so full of fatherly tenderness, friendship, and affection, that it cannot but make the deepest impressions on me as well as Mrs. Morice. We are both greatly affected by it; and in return I can only assure you that I have no greater pleasure in life than being of some little use to you; and that, were it not highly inconvenient for your affairs (to say nothing of

* There was one exception. Dr. Henry Sacheverell, who died in June, 1724 bequeathed to the exiled prelate £500.—W. M.

† Dr. Edward Chandler.

‡ "A Vindication of the Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament," 1728.—W. M.

my own) I should never desire to be absent from you, but should make it my choice to be always near you, in order to ease you as much as possible of the inconveniency I am sensible you must be under for want of proper hands about you. Sure the tables will turn in time; and I am willing to think God has not restored you to so great and unexpected a share of health but for some good end, and that we shall at last see you return in honour and triumph to your own country again. That indeed would be the happiest day my wishes can frame to themselves; and, until good Providence brings it about, the best thing you can do, for my wife and me, is to take care of your own health abroad. Our interest is wrapped up in your happiness, and you can never leave anything behind you to compensate for the loss we shall sustain if you happen to go before us. This is the dictate of Mrs. Morice's heart as well as my own.

No news as yet of my brother Obby.

I have made several applications for the £150 expected so long ago. That worthy gentleman is lately gone into the North, and has promised me faithfully to push the matter, so as a remittance may be speedily made. Mr. Shippen sees me sometimes: he keeps his honesty at a time when almost everybody is wavering. He is gone to spend the recess of Parliament, as usual, in Northumberland, and will not return till it meets again, when I dare say you will hear of him approving himself the same man you left him. I am commissioned to send you a thousand services.

I have almost tired myself, as I fear I have you long before; but I am glad of such opportunities, as the bearer affords me, of writing to you. If he tarries till to-morrow, Mrs. Morice threatens you with a letter.—I am, &c.*

Mrs. Morice wrote, July 6, as her husband had intimated she would, but her note was almost entirely made up of inquiries after the health of her friends in Paris. She enclosed a letter from Père Courayer. Both father and daughter were gaining health; the first probably by having freed himself from the

* Atterbury Papers.

intolerable troubles of an unthankful service, quite as much as from the purer air of his present residence; the latter in consequence of having been ordered horse exercise, and evidently enjoying it thoroughly. The Bishop announced his intention of travelling to the South of France, and of spending the winter in Italy. His daughter's reply shows how much this intelligence had distressed her:—

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

$\frac{\text{June } 25}{\text{July } 6}$, 1728.

Dear Papa,

Though Mr. Morice has written largely to you, yet I cannot let the bearer go away without carrying something under my hand as a proof of my duty to you and remembrance of you. I am greatly pleased with the accounts you give of your health, and to hear you enjoy your country retirement with so much satisfaction. Your absence from Paris does not, I suppose, prevent your friends and acquaintances there from sometimes seeing you or being seen by you. Give me, therefore, leave to inquire after good Mr. Innes,* who has always my good wishes. I hope Lady Redmond, and all that family are well, and that Dr. Thomé, for his own sake, continues to be a part of it. I beg my services to them and him, whose inclination and endeavour to restore my health ought not to let me forget inquiring after and wishing his. When you see Mrs. Tuke, pray, papa, make her my compliments. Has she had any more touches of the gout? I wish her some, just as many and no more than will do her good. I conclude you often see the family in whose house you are: it becomes me in a particular manner to have my respects and thanks conveyed to them for the good you have received by being there. I hope Lady Barbara† enjoys more health than she used to do, and that Mr. Skelton will keep his many years.

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* Father Inese.

† Eldest daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Lennard, Earl of Sussex, and wife of Charles Skelton, Esq., a General Officer in the service of France.—W. M.

So much for my inquiries after the health of others. I shall conclude with just mentioning my own; and I think I may tell you it is better than it was, and that I am in hopes the constant exercise of riding will in time recover it. I wish it may, but not with so much earnestness as I do to see yours perfectly established.—I am, &c.

I hope Father John is well, and wish Mr. Southcott joy of his abbey.

P.S.—The enclosed letter is just now come from Père Courayer, and very opportunely, since mine scarce deserves your reading.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Surenne, July $\frac{19}{30}$, 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I have yours of July 11, &c., and am glad to hear Mrs. Morice grows every day so much better: may God continue and increase her good health! Of mine, in respect of the gout, I have no reason to complain. But in other respects I find the decays of age grow fast upon me, and am therefore advised to go farther southward, and to spend the winter at Montpelier; and, if I find advantages from that temperate clime, to go on the next year (should I live so long) and winter at Naples. The only thought that comes across me with some uneasiness in this case is, that I shall despair after that of ever seeing Mrs. Morice and you—the only pleasure that is now left me in this world! But I will endeavour to bear even that misfortune with the same equanimity that I have borne many others; and doubt not but God will support me in every step I am obliged to take, and will reward you both for all the instances of filial duty and tenderness that you have shown towards me. If I go (as I probably shall) I will settle all matters beforehand to your ease and advantage, according to the scheme I laid down when you were last with me. In order to this journey, it will be requisite. I should draw upon you for two hundred pounds, which cannot be helped; though I foresee what a new expense the arrival of Obby possibly will occasion. I shall impatiently wait for an account of him and his character; and am prepared to bear the very worst news that can be sent me on that head.

* Atterbury Papers. The enclosure has not been preserved.

I am glad the bath has done my brother service, and hope that Tunbridge will do him yet more.

My house at Paris is unfurnished, and I have bid the landlord put a bill upon the door; and shall stay here till I set out upon my journey. You tell me of a letter from Mrs. Morice; but I have had none as yet. When I have it I will be sure to answer it. In the meantime she will look upon this as written equally to both of you. God bless you both and all yours! My tenderest love to her!—Believe me, &c.*

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Holland House, $\frac{\text{July } 29}{\text{August } 9}$ 1720.

Dear Papa,

It is a true observation that one misfortune seldom comes alone, but is the forerunner of more. This year has been productive of many. Our concern for the loss of Mr. Drake, Dr. Brydges, and Dr. Chamberlen (still fresh upon our memories) is now increased by the death of Dr. John Freind, who was thought to be in a fair way of recovery last Thursday; but there came a sudden ill turn the night following, and he breathed his last on Friday, about three in the afternoon. Many people will find the want of him as a physician; and I shall, I fear, miss him often, and feel the loss of him with regard to myself and children. God's will be done! The last prescription he gave me was the use of my horse. I am resolved to follow his advice, hoping it will succeed so well as that I shall not soon want any other physician, of whose prescriptions I can never entertain the same opinion; nor can any other person judge so well of my constitution as Dr. Freind, who had been so long used to it.

At this unlucky juncture comes a letter from you which has grieved me ever since I saw it. The thought of your removal so far off as Montpelier goes down like a bitter pill, and I cannot digest it. The air of Paris has certainly done you a great deal of good, and may in time do more. Try it a little longer, and stay till I can come over to you there: from thence, if you resolve upon going farther off, you must take me with you. You know I am no very troublesome traveller, and shall

* Atterbury Papers.

not make the journey uneasy to you; but I shall be very uneasy if you set out without me. Pray send me the comfortable news that you have laid aside the design, at least for the present, and that you have no great cause to complain for want of health. Such an account, Papa, will be a sort of restorative to me under the melancholy situation I am in for the loss of a friend and physician, who was so able and willing to assist me when I wanted his help.

Mr. Morice is very well, and sends you his duty.—I am ever, &c.*

It became necessary now for the Bishop to state more fully and more firmly his intention of travelling southward; and he lays the cause of it to the hostility of Cardinal de Fleury, created by the vindictive representations of Walpole. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the English Minister had not only determined to prevent the return of the exile to his native land, but had instigated the French Minister to render a residence near Paris as uncomfortable to him as possible. The exile wrote to his daughter, as well as to his son-in-law, but did not succeed in reconciling either to his removal to a greater distance:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Surenne, August $\frac{8}{18}$, 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I received yesterday your large and kind letter by Hereford, as also one enclosed from dear Mrs. Morice, from whom also I expect another to-morrow morning on the subject of your last of July 25, according to the hopes you there give me. Nothing can please me more than to hear that she and you, and all your little family, are perfectly well, and particularly that her riding out has done her such service. God continue her health and yours! and add all that happiness, and still more

* Atterbury Papers.

than that, of which he has been pleased to deprive me! I shall look upon it as some amends for what I have undergone, and shall bear whatever is still to happen to me so much the more easily.

It is impossible for me in a few words, or a few pages, to represent my true situation here to you. But believe me when I tell you, that it has such circumstances in it as would mortify and break a spirit less inured to hardships than mine. That, I thank God, is not my case. However, I am not insensible of what I bear, nor unwilling, as far as I can, to get rid of some part of it. Upon much reflection, I have judged that the most proper step I can take at this juncture with respect to my health, my ease, and reputation, is to move southward, as I have already told you. My reasons for it, which cannot be told at this distance, are many; but there is one which may be owned to all the world. I am satisfied that my wintering at Montpelier will contribute more to the re-establishing of my health than my four years' stay at Paris has done already. If I continue here, I must lay out a great deal of money in furniture, which I am extremely unwilling to do; and I must retrench my expenses. Otherwise, after my fortune has been so many ways narrowed, I shall eat into the principal; which I should be sorry on many accounts, and particularly on Mrs. Morice's account and yours, to do. At Montpelier I can live within compass, and proportion my expenses to what remains; and that journey will answer several other views, which it is needless to explain to you.

The Cardinal, pushed on, I suppose, by Walpole, continues to pursue me, and to fright the clergy of all sorts, as much as he can, from coming near me. It is but lately he wrote to the curate of this place, directing him to avoid all *liaisons* with me *par rapport à la religion*—that is, in truth, not even to visit me; and so the Curé understood his letter, and has acted accordingly. This is a trifle; but I have good ground to be satisfied that his conduct is the same in many other instances, and that he would do all he could, without violence, to make me weary of staying in the neighbourhood of Paris; and I see not how I can better consult my own ease in that respect, and many others, than by retiring. The only thing in the world that checks me is, the great distance I shall be at from Mrs. Morice

and you, and the improbability there is of our meeting afterwards. That indeed wounds me. But it is possible that things may so happen as to give me leave to return this way before Mrs. Morice can propose to join me; and then my distance during the winter may prove no great inconvenience. Besides, her good health may probably be a forerunner of her not being in a condition to travel next summer, and then the thought of our distance will sit the more easily upon me; therefore she will forgive me if I hold my resolution, and will believe that I have pressing reasons (more than I can tell her) for so doing. So much on that head.

Pray let Père Courayer know that it is in vain to write to any of his friends to see me; and that I am so closely watched by the Cardinal that they dare not. He is persuaded that Père Courayer's escape is owing entirely to me, and acts with such a degree of resentment towards me on that account as does me more honour than I really deserve. Tell him also what I have written before of that matter in this letter, and that his friend has transmitted to me the accounts he sent him of what the Whigs in England say of me; at which I am not surprised in the least, expecting nothing less from those who were the authors of my banishment. But I am concerned to find that his acquaintance lies almost entirely one way; though I see not, as things stand with relation to the pension he expects, how it can well be otherwise. Their shyness to him in England is all owing to their desire of managing the Cardinal, who returns the civility to them by his usage of me. There is a kind of bargain between them; and we shall, for a while at least, mutually feel the effects of it.

The law-lord should be satisfied in his inquiries, and told that I have certainly left *the banker;* which my southern journey will set more and more in a clear light.

I know not what to say of Mr. H. towards forwarding the point you mention. If he has any such thing in his head, he will do it whether I say anything to him or no; and perhaps I may do mischief in that case instead of forwarding it. It is certain that I have lost near a third part of my income since I came abroad; and yet my charges rather increase than lessen, and will plunge me in difficulties unless I remove to a cheaper country.

My ever honoured friend in your neighbourhood* will always, I verily believe, continue firm to me. But I shall be wary how I strain that string till it cracks; having indeed no other to trust to. Let that person know the everlasting esteem and gratitude I shall certainly, living and dying, pay for all the marks of goodness and friendship I have received. They are lost upon me in no other sense than that of the mortifying impossibility I am under to return them.

As to the dismission of A., I find you do not care to meddle in it; nor am I very intent upon it. It is certain he richly deserves that treatment by his base and saucy conduct towards me; but, having so many greater injuries to forgive, it may become me to neglect this lesser one. Nor did I ever mean it merely to hurt him; but only to show that, low as I was, it was not prudent to insult me, as he has done most notoriously.

I am of your opinion, that the aims of the Freinds will be defeated if W[alpole] stands; and stand he will till the proceedings of the Congress† shake him, which if they do not, they will strengthen and confirm him.

Pray let me have a true account of the papers‡ I sent you, and what the *real* opinion was of those to whom you communicated them. I fear they saw the marks of age and weakness in them, and shall not be at all surprised if you tell me so, but only made more cautious how I meddle in anything of that kind for the future; therefore be free with me on that head, and desire them (as from yourself, not from me) to be free with you also.

I find many are of my sentiment with regard to "The Dunciad," and think the writer has engaged himself in a very improper and troublesome scuffle, not worthy of his pen at all, which was designed for greater purposes. Nor can all the good poetry in those three cantos make amends for the trouble and teasing they will occasion to him. Tell him so directly in my name; and tell him that what I say proceeds from a tender regard I have for everything that concerns him. I find by Mist§ that Pope will be pursued with all the little spite of

* The Duchess of Buckingham.

† At Soissons.

‡ "Reflections on the Character of Japis in Virgil;" and a version of his first Eclogue; the former was communicated to Dr. John Freind, and the latter to Mr. Pope.—W. M.

§ The journalist.

which that set of poor creatures is capable; and that they will endeavour to hurt him chiefly upon the head of good nature and probity, allowing him all manner of advantages in poetry.

You say nothing of Sir J[ohn] D[olben], where he is, or how long he has been gone. If he is abroad, I am surprised that I should have heard nothing from him.

Your Welsh friend has served you scurvily at last. I am satisfied little is to be expected now from those yearly benefactors. Time will wear out the merit of my sufferings and their remembrance of them. I can only trust to what I am surely possessed of already.

Upon looking over my papers, I find several things wanting necessary to enable me to give a punctual account of what befel me.* I have not even all that is printed on that head; and have the MS. notes (of what was said and done in the House of Lords) only of Sir Constantine Phipps, Duke of Wharton, and Mr. Taylor. Pray let me know what Mr. Carte† is doing on your side. Here it is thought that he has made his peace, and will quit his party.

As to my choice, whether two hundred pounds at once or fifty pounds for *certain* years, I made a sort of answer to it by drawing upon you for £200. But I know not what to say on that occasion as to loading the person from whom I suppose the proffer comes. I am not really easy at that thought.

The bundle of papers by Alexander, which had not arrived when you wrote your long letter, came afterwards to hand; as you own, I think, in one of yours. I wonder how it stuck so long by the way; for he and Hereford went off at the same time.‡ Alexander is intimate with Arbuthnot; and, therefore, I shall not (and desire that you would not) trust him with anything of consequence. Hereford is a right honest man, and may entirely be relied on.

I thank you kindly for the large account you give me of the various reflections made on my retreat. I expected them, and am glad I have not suffered more in people's opinion on the account of that step; which, as far as I can judge, was both

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* None of the Bishop's papers on this subject were obtained by his executor, Mr. Morice, as appears by his examination before the Secretaries of State.—W. M.

† The Nonjuror and historian.

‡ Alexander and Hereford (Elliot) were in the Bishop's service.

necessary and prudent. My new motions will be a further improvement of that step, and such an one as can give no just handle to blame me.

I take Salkeld with me, not that I like everything in him (far from it!) but because I can find no better. Osbaldiston and Waters are not what they should be; and yet I make a shift to go on with them. While I am in this state I can expect no order in my family, nor any perfect obedience from my servants; but bear these, as well as I can, among an hundred other inconveniences.

Wharton, you hear, has played strange pranks in this neighbourhood—went to the Ambassador* in hopes of getting leave to come home, and declared his repentance to him: and to me and many others his being no Catholic. He said, "We might as well think he was a Turk." When he found his application not received, and the prosecution of him commenced in England, he made another sudden turn, and is now as true a Catholic and Jacobite as ever he was. These are things in which I can say nothing for him, and which I am in no degree able to cover; for he is incapable of being advised or served by anybody. I keep my distance from him; nor have I seen North† since he came to Paris, nor have I the least desire of seeing him.

You wrote me a long letter; but I have, I think, written you a longer. I was willing to take the opportunity of a sure hand, which Hereford tells me will go off next Wednesday. I must write a word to Mrs. Morice still; therefore bid you adieu with assurances of everlasting concern and kindness for you and yours!‡

Bishop Atterbury to Mrs. Morice.

Surenne, August $\frac{4}{13}$, 1728.

My dear Heart,

I thank you for yours of June 25th, which came to hand but yesterday. I have written so largely to Mr. Morice that I shall be the shorter with you. I depend upon it that you know my heart so well as not to want many words to be satisfied of the tender concern I have for you.

I expect another from you to-morrow morning on the subject

* Horatio Walpole, the elder.

† Lord North and Grey.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

of my intended journey. Believe me, I cannot with prudence and common sense do otherwise, as matters stand; besides that it will certainly contribute to my health. You know how little disposed I am to stir from the spot where I am fixed; and that it must be a very strong motive indeed, and little short of an absolute necessity, that determines me to quit it. Rest in that thought, my dear heart, and be easy under the measures I am obliged to pursue. All will be for the best at last; and the farther I go from you at present, the sooner I shall be likely to meet you again with satisfaction and pleasure. I will not forget your compliments to the several persons you mention when they fall in my way. But at present, having quitted Paris, the opportunities of that kind are very rare.

I am pleased to hear of the good effects your little horse and Holland Park have had as to your health. God continue and increase it to you! Let the person in the world I honour most know that there is no one in the world more devoted to another, or more perfectly sensible of their obligations, than I am; and that I chiefly desire to live to have an opportunity in some measure to discharge them.

Poor Dr. Chamberlen's death struck me, though I had been for some time in expectation of that news. Let me know how the Duchess does, and when she returns to Buckingham House.

I have no material exceptions to the printed papers sent me; those little ones I have are scarce worth sending.

I am ever, my dear Heart, in all the vicissitudes of life, and to the very point of death, your most affectionate father.*

The Bishop had made many sincere friends among the Roman Catholic clergy. Cardinal de Fleury, however, fearful that they might follow the course pursued by Père Courayer, prevented any further association. The gentleman to whom the present communication is addressed was a Catholic priest, and, what was then styled, a *virtuoso*. Having referred to the legendary account of the Evangelist portrait

* Atterbury Papers.

painter, he had ventured to ask the heretic Bishop's opinion: a very heterodox judgment he pronounced. The remarks upon Dr. Freind, though he had reason to believe that he had in some indirect way been accessory to his prosecution, are also highly characteristic. His old acquaintance was dead, and he could only remember him as his daughter's physician and his friendly coadjutor in politics.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE REV. MR. WILLIAMS.

Surenne, August 11, 1728.

Forgive my ill paper, and my short acknowledgment of longer letters, for which I am obliged to you. I am not able, at the house I write, to do better in either respect.

I am glad you are pleased with your purchase, and wish that pleasure may end in profit. Since you are a match for the Italians in that sort of ware, the danger is lest a sense of your superior skill should tempt you to be more than a match for others when you have a proper opportunity. I am not curious in relation to the picture said to be drawn by St. Luke; and should have more respect for it, if it came in my way, were it certainly drawn by Raphael. The only picture, I believe, that St. Luke ever drew of the Virgin was in his Gospel: and it is a fine one, and certainly like her. That I can look upon with delight and veneration, being sure of the hand that made it. I dare say you are of my opinion, that those leaves in his Gospel which describe her character are worth all the canvas of Italy that pretends to give us her figure. But, *manum de tabulâ*—enough on that subject.

You have heard of the death of Doctor Freind—a public loss in more respects than one! for I dare say, notwithstanding his station at Court,* he died of the same politic opinions in which I left him. He is lamented by men of all parties at home and of all countries abroad; for he was known everywhere, and confessed to be at the head of his faculty.

I have lost several friends this year—Harry Brydges parti-

* That of Physician to Queen Caroline.

cularly and Mr. Drake. God preserve the rest that are left! My respects to Mr. Foster; to whom I wrote, I think, by the last post. Make my compliments to Mr. Hamilton for the kind compliment he sent me: I will not die in his debt. Judge not of my friendship by my letters; but believe that, even when you may not hear from me, I am always mindful of you, and will neglect nothing in my power to serve you. Adieu! *

When the exile had time to reflect on the effect his determination to travel southward might have upon his daughter's very delicate state of health, he hesitated, though only for a short time. With a brief note to her husband he sent a long letter to herself; once more trying to convince her that their separation was unavoidable, and would only be for a brief interval. He introduces many other subjects of interest, such as the alarming illness of the young Duke of Buckingham. There is also a reference to the man of business of the Duke of Ormonde; and it now appears that Ormonde had also terminated his connection with "the Pretender"—whose little Court and Cabinet, deprived of wife and statesmen, seemed undergoing a gradual collapse.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Surenne, August $\frac{14}{25}$, 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

Thank Mrs. Morice for her letter, which was, as everything from her is, extremely welcome. I will acknowledge it to her soon, and either comply with her request, or satisfy her that it is better I should not.

Dr. Freind's death is looked on as a general loss: men of all parties and all nations lament it, and allow he was the first man of his faculty in Europe. If I mistake not, he was but just

* Atterbury Papers.

turned of fifty. What have I to do in the world, who am above fifteen years older?

I have caught a great cold, and am in apprehension of the usual consequence of it—a fit of the gout; but have some hopes that it may blow over by keeping my bed, as it has now and then done. I am otherwise very well; and shall be pleased to hear that Mrs. Morice, having lost her physician, has no need of him. Dr. Thomé has again renewed his acquaintance with me.

Pray return me £200 upon Waters; and believe me, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Surenne, August ⅛, 1728.

My dear Heart,

I take this opportunity, by an honest man who is setting out for England in two or three days, to thank you for your letter, and for the kind instances you make in it to me not to stir till spring. It is impossible for you, my dear Heart, to understand my circumstances, or for me to explain them so as to enable you to judge right what it behoves me to do on this occasion. I am not irrevocably as yet determined to take the journey I mentioned, but I apprehend that there is nothing in my circumstances fitter for me to do; and, in ten days time, shall resolve absolutely upon it one way or another. No argument in the world is so strong with me against that journey as the consideration of the greater distance I shall be at from you, and the greater difficulty there will be in our meeting again. You may depend upon it that I feel the weight of it, and that nothing but what arises almost to a necessity would overbalance it. If I go to Montpelier, I go only to spend the winter there, and may probably return to Paris in the spring; and then the case will be the same as if I had stayed here all the while. I will write to you or Mr. Morice again before I part. In the meantime, if I go, what I have to recommend to you is, in the first place to be easy, and to believe that all is for the best, and will so end; in the next place, to take care of your brother, as far as his perverse nature and ill habits will permit you to do it. I intend him the landed estate for life, both that which I now have myself, and that which comes to me from my brother when he dies; but to be distributed to him in such a manner, by trustees, that it shall not be in his power to embezzle it; nor do I intend it for

* Atterbury Papers.

his issue, unless he marries with the consent of such persons as I shall nominate. If he does not, I design the real estate should all go, after your brother's death, to you and your children, and the personal estate to be entirely yours, without his having a shilling of it; though it is possible that I may give some small legacies that will a little, and but a little, diminish it. I could have wished that Mr. Morice had been here, and had assisted me towards the resettling of this matter, nor shall I be at ease till it is done; and I intend to take care of it, as far as can be done by will, before I set out, if I can find proper help here towards effecting it. If I cannot, I must still defer it; and, I thank God, I am so much better in health than I used to be, that I apprehend no immediate danger of death. I caught a great cold in the forest of St. Germains, near a fortnight ago, which is now going off, without the usual ill consequence, a fit of the gout—a plain proof how far my constitution is bettered; and I trust in God, therefore, that he will now give me time enough towards settling everything perfectly to my mind; though, considering my age,* I ought not, I own, to delay it a moment.

Mr. Salkeld has been here almost at the point of death with a fever, and is still in a dangerous and doubtful condition. That is some restraint upon me as to my motions; but in two or three days time that point will be determined. The public papers tell me that my brother continues dangerously ill. Should he die, the prosecuting my claim to the estate, if disputed, will depend entirely on Mr. Morice; my being at Paris or Montpelier will make no difference in the case.

The same papers informed me of the young Duke,† your neighbour, having the small-pox. You may judge what a concern that news gave me, till the last Saturday's papers said (pray God they may have said true!) that the danger was over. If it is, the Duchess‡ will be out of pain as to the state of his health for the future, for the small-pox will amend and establish it; and she will have the less need to regret the loss of Dr. Chamberlen, though I considered how that loss must affect her at the time when the Duke first fell ill. I wonder I have had no

* The Bishop was then in his sixty-sixth year.—W. M.

† Edmund Sheffield, second and last Duke of Buckingham of that family. He died in 1735.—W. M.

‡ His mother.

intimation of that matter from you or Mr. Morice. You could not but think that I should take my part in it, and enter into it with a sensible concern. Tell Mr. Morice that I will do my part as to the epitaph desired, provided I have the proper materials relating to Dr. Chamberlen's family, birth, age, children, &c., which must be sent me with all exactness.

He that brings this (you know him, I think) is a very honest man, and comes to settle on your side with his wife and daughter. He has desired me to recommend the daughter to you, whom he says you have seen, and whom he brought to me. She seems to be a modest discreet young woman, and not ill bred, and to be very fit to attend on some person of quality. If you find her so, and have any opportunity of recommending her to any place which will be to her advantage, I would desire you to do it. I know nothing of the young woman; but, as far as I hear, she has a very good character. However, I leave your meddling, or not meddling, in her case entirely to your discretion, on which, and on your willingness to hearken to my recommendation when proper, I equally rely; and therefore, if you do nothing in it, I shall judge it is because you think it improper, and shall be easy in that thought. The father I look upon to be a very honest man, and worthy of any little service Mr. Morice can do him. He, his wife, and daughter, you know, are all Roman Catholics.

I have lost a great many friends this year; but the young Duke's death would, in my apprehension, be the greatest stroke of all to me. I shall, therefore, be in pain till I hear from you of his safety.

Pray desire Mr. Morice to send me word what Dr. Freind died worth. I fear scarce £20,000. His brother the schoolmaster's interest and hopes may probably die with him. I wish Mr. Morice would get possession of that MS. paper of mine which he put into his hands a little before he died, and would send me word how he took it, and what he thought of it; as well as the other gentleman's thoughts about the verses; in both which cases I desire Mr. Morice to be very open, sincere, and plain with me; for I pique not myself at this time of day upon being able to write well on such subjects, and shall not be in the least mortified if the persons for whom I designed those papers should not have judged favourably of them. Therefore, induce him to tell me the very truth, without any manner of disguise. I wonder

he sends me no word of Sir John Dolben, where he is, and what he is doing abroad.

I should be glad to know also how Mr. Hutcheson does, who is, I think, several years older than I; and therefore in some danger of going sooner. Whenever he goes we shall lose a worthy, honest, incorruptible man, which is at this time of day a great rarity. But I hope to hear from Mr. Morice that he continues in perfect health. The Duke of Ormonde's affairs will never find one, after he is gone, I fear, that will manage them with so disinterested a zeal and so much to his service. Bid Mr. Morice give him many thanks from me (if it be proper) for his many instances of friendship; and assure him that, wherever I am, I carry about me the same grateful heart towards him, and am in all respects just the same as I was when I left England; except in the point of health, wherein, I thank God, I am much mended. My strangury, indeed, continues; but Dr. Thomé is confident I have not any stone in my bladder, or elsewhere, and undertakes to put me in a way, before I part, of being eased in that respect also; and I hope my remove southward may also in some measure contribute to my cure.

Say everything to the great lady* of your acquaintance that carries in it esteem, respect, gratitude, and the most tender concern in every point wherein she is affected; and assure her that it is one of my greatest afflictions to be under an ability to express this only by words at such a distance.

Adieu, my dear Heart! My blessing and love to Mr. Morice; and may God bless you and yours, whatever becomes of me!

Tell Mr. Morice that I never received what Bishop Gastrell, which he assures me, was sent, I know not by whom. But I must not indulge my pen; else, after I have taken it up again, I should be apt to fill another sheet to you. Adieu, my dear Heart, once more! and believe that I think of you always with the utmost concern and tenderness. If you return me but half as much, I shall consider myself as very well paid. This, though directed to you, I look upon as equally written to Mr. Morice; and am unwilling to swell the packet with a distinct letter to him, lest it should breed a suspicion in the bearer that there is more of business in what he carries than there really is.†

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* The Duchess of Buckingham. † Atterbury Papers.

The Latin poem by an Irishman, mentioned in the next as well as in subsequent letters, appears to have excited considerable interest. We now learn that it was a satirical attack on some distinguished person. Notwithstanding that Atterbury was out of office, his interest in politics had not been cast away with his employments. All eyes were directed to the Congress then sitting at Soissons, and much speculation was created as to the line that would be adopted by the Imperial Minister. Cardinal de Fleury was there, acting the host as well as the diplomatist.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. BULSTRODE.*

Sir, Surenne, Thursday [August or September, 1728].

I am obliged to you for your letter yesterday, as well as for your former. It is well that they have done Père Courayer and themselves right at last. Since the thing is done, I am no ways nice as to the hands that did it.

The gentleman from whom I had the poem lies a little out of my reach at present. You know besides, sir, on whom it is a satire; and how improper it is for me, on several accounts, to be an instrument in spreading it. I do not think the copies of it so rare, but that you may easily light upon one in other hands. When I see you next I shall explain myself further on that head to you. In the meantime let us join in our good wishes for the success of the Congress—every one in his way.

I suppose Zinzendorf will be back by the opening it, else his journey is a little unseasonable, and does not promise well. I apprehend the meeting will not be like that at Cambray, but short; if it be sweet too, as our English phrase is, all is well. The Cardinal, I believe, for his own sake, will shorten it. He is an old man, and has no time to lose; and does not, I suppose, relish much the keeping a table of sixty covers.—I am, sir, &c.†

The Countess of Mar was aunt to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had established an unen-

* An exiled Jacobite. † Atterbury Papers.

viable character for intrigues, political and amatory. Her reputation as a woman of letters or as a woman of fashion was not likely to suffer on this account. The former had been assailed by the trenchant satire of Pope, and the latter had not been unscathed by foreign travel. She had, however, been entrusted with the charge of Lady Mar, and this deprived Lord Mar of a considerable income. His lordship had recourse to his old skill in plotting to ruin the lady as he had ruined the Bishop. The latter, in stating this, is emphatic in declaring his entire separation from the affairs of "the Pretender."

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Sureune, $\frac{\text{August 25.}}{\text{September 5,}}$ 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I omit no opportunity of writing to you, though I have little to say. I am still here, attending the event of Mr. Salkeld's illness, who has been (and I know not whether he may not be still) dangerously ill. His recovery will be slow, and will probably retard my journey till the end of this month, or rather the beginning of next. In the meantime I myself am very well; only I caught a cold about three weeks ago in the forest of St. Germains, which is now going off without any fit of the gout, the usual consequence of it. I hear nothing from you about the money I wrote for, nor have I had a word from you about the young Duke's illness. Should he miscarry, it would, as I have said, affect me more than the death of all those friends that has lately happened. I take it for granted the danger is over, because the papers say nothing further of him. If that be the case (which I pray God it may!), let Mrs. Morice congratulate the Duchess upon it, and let her know what pain I have felt on this occasion. However, the small-pox being over, she will probably now have no great occasion to be concerned for his health for the future; and the loss, therefore, of Doctor Chamberlen will not be so sensible to her. This is the comfortable thought with which I please myself.

I hear nothing of my brother's state of health but from the public prints, which say that he is dangerously ill.

I wrote last week by one who may probably linger so long upon the road as that this may reach you as soon as that letter. The letter was addressed to Mrs. Morice, and a very long one. A young woman, the daughter of a very honest man, who brings the letter, is there recommended to her if Mrs. Morice can do anything towards placing her in the service of some great lady, and shall think she deserves her good word on that occasion. I fancy she does, and that she is well qualified for such a post, though I saw her but once and for a few minutes. She has, I find, a good character; and I hear not that there is the least blemish in it.

Lord Mar is here in a terrible way, not able to obtain leave to come home, nor yet well able to support himself on this side, since Lady Mary Wortley has the custody of Lady Mar, and the allowance assigned her for her maintenance. He has threatened Lady Mary, if she does not give up that trust and hearken to the terms that Lord Erskine should propose to her, he would put some plotting letters of hers, which she formerly wrote to him, into the hands of the Government. Mar sets out soon for the South of France, and intends to winter there for cheapness. Wherever he is, he and I shall be sure to keep our distance. My journey to those parts, and continuance there, will convince the world (as I desire it should) that I have nothing to do in certain affairs, as I really have not, nor ever intend to have for the future. I have strong reasons for that conduct, strong enough to justify me in it without the least thought of preparing my way home by such means. Were I sure of never returning, I would do the very same thing; but shall reserve the reasons on which I found that resolution till the time that we meet, if ever we meet again. I am sure that you and all men of honour, spirit, and virtue, will entirely approve them.

My landlord, after the fairest carriage for three years past, shows the knavish side of himself now at parting, and obliges me to pay half a year's rent for the house after Michaelmas next, for want of a formal warning about my leaving it, which I gave not till July the 30th, though I left the house May the 3rd, and disfurnished it entirely in June; and I must either be content to pay that money, or have a squabble with him at the Chatelet,

which I will avoid. This is but a small misfortune after those greater that have befallen me. That debt, the only one I shall leave behind me, and the expense of my journey southward, will take up a good part of the money you are about to return. But I hope to make it up in the South by my frugal manner of living there.

I wonder I hear nothing from you about Obby, who must now have been arrived for some weeks. Your saying nothing of him gives me but too much reason to apprehend that nothing can be said to his advantage. I am prepared for the worst account that can be given of him, and shall not be surprised at it; but am concerned that you and Mrs. Morice are like to share so much of the trouble with me.

Mr. Waters, when I am gone from hence, will know how to convey your letters to me. To him you must enclose them; but pray do not make them bulky by thick paper and covers, which are needless if the writing does not appear through them; and you may order things so that it shall not do.

I wrote to know what Doctor Freind died worth, as also what he and the other gentleman* really thought of the papers I sent. Indulge me in that curiosity. If this arrives as soon as I am told it will, you may yet have an opportunity of writing largely to me before I set out. Adieu! God bless you both, and yours! It is impossible to express the tenderness and concern with which I think of you always. I doubt not the same of you with relation to me.

Send me over (if you can) before I go from hence, the papers about the physician in Virgil, which I suppose you have retrieved, for I have no copy of them.†

There were reasons which Atterbury does not express that urged him to realize his intention of proceeding to the South of France. Occasionally he hints that there are such reasons, and, notwithstanding his determination to free himself from any participation in certain affairs, there is a strong probability that by his making so considerable an approach

* Mr. Pope. † Atterbury Papers.

to the place of James's residence, he entertained the idea of a meeting with some one nearly connected with him to communicate his opinion of affairs. His intention of proceeding to Italy appears to have been abandoned, but he adhered to his wish of wintering at Montpelier. Again he repeated his arguments to his daughter, but, if possible, more lovingly than before.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Surenne, September $\frac{4}{14}$, 1728.

My dear Heart,

The gentleman who brings this knows not how soon he may set forward; and therefore I put this into his hands at this time, though probably it will be above a fortnight yet before I move myself. Just before I do Mr. Morice shall have a line from me by the post to inform him of it, in which letter there will be nothing but what all eyes may see. In this to you, which comes by a private hand, I can express myself more freely. Three of mine have been lately sent you and Mr. Morice in the like private manner. I hope they have ere this time all reached your hands; and for that reason it will be the less necessary for me to enlarge, because I have in those letters said a great deal of the reasonableness of my going elsewhere, and particularly of my wintering in the South of France, which Doctor Thomé assures me will, if anything can, restore my health and strength to me.

I own to you I have other reasons for that journey; the chiefest and of greatest weight with me is, that I may be out of the very appearance of managing anything for a certain person, who so manages his own business that it is impossible to do him any service. I am resolved therefore to be no ways concerned in his affairs, but to live retired and free, if it be possible, from the very suspicion of it. This I would be glad should be made known to the great person who inquired of a certain great lady about me, as Mr. Morice wrote me word.

The other reason is frugality, which I find in the circumstances of my affairs is absolutely necessary. The journey will cost me money; but I shall save more than that by a winter's

residence at Montpelier or thereabouts. And it is fit I should do so, for your brother will soon be a new charge to me, without a prospect, I fear, of his being much improved by all the expense and all the trouble you and Mr. Morice are at about him. God has made me amends by your kind and dutiful behaviour to me, else the conduct and character of your brother would be an affliction almost insupportable. Mr. Morice has hitherto said little of him, but that he has squandered away the money given him to traffic with without the least improvement. I dread to hear anything further of him, being satisfied that all that is new will be matter of new discomfort to me. I know Mr. Morice and you will do your best for him in his present circumstances, and towards getting him again a ship-board out of sight and observation, so that he may be as little a scandal to us as is possible. God will bless you for all the trouble you take on this head; and I will have, while I live, and to my last gasp, the most grateful remembrance of your behaviour in that respect at a time when I am as little capable of taking care of him as he deserves it from me. But enough on that melancholy subject.

I quit this place the beginning of next week, and go to Paris to order all my affairs for a few days before I set out. The landlord has forced his house upon me till April next, and I have consequently been forced also to let it for that time to a lady at such a rent as I could procure, and to be an hundred, perhaps two hundred livres in the whole, a loser. My furniture has been taken down these three months, so I must lie at a neighbour's, and be at my own house only in the day time to dispatch all my little affairs before I set out, which will be about the end of this month, or, at furthest, at the very entrance of the next.

Salkeld, Osbaldeston, and George go with me; but Walter seems determined not to go, and desires to return to England. I believe he will do so, and leave me in this exigence without a *valet de chambre*, in which case I must do as well as I can without him during the journey, and content myself with such an one as I can find at the end of it. I go in Mr. Morice's chaise, which will not be hurt more by that journey than by its standing so long still, which has already made several repairs necessary. Do not be uneasy at my going so far. The very journey itself will do me some good, and my wintering at Montpelier much

more; and it is very probable that I may stay there no longer than spring, and then bring the chaise back again with me to Paris. Remember, my dear Heart, the English proverb which says that "the furthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home." That may be the case with relation to this journey of mine, and, if it is not, yet I can do nothing better with respect to my health and my ease in my present circumstances; so do not take it ill of me that I remove so far off, nor disquiet yourself at all, my dear Heart, on that account. Let our ever honoured friend* know that it was necessary for me to take this step, and that I have the most solid reasons for it.

Let Mr. Morice know that Kelly writes letters into Spain, complaining that he is not supported. Accounts of them come from thence to me. I can scarcely believe that this is true, or that he has not enough to sustain himself in prison in such a way as is suitable to such circumstances. But K., I know, loves to live well, and to be at much more expense than is either requisite or decent. I desire to know of Mr. Morice how the case really stands with him, and particularly whether the two hundred pounds I ordered was actually paid him. When I know the truth, I shall set the matter right with the person who from Spain has written to me about it.

I have written so many and so long letters lately to you or Mr. Morice about my present circumstances, that I shall add no more now. I have received nothing from him in answer beside common letters by the post, amidst which there was one that enclosed the bill of return which must carry me to Montpelier. But I have had but one letter from him by a private hand, I think, these four or five months. Whenever he writes any such, while I am at a distance, Mr. Waters will take care to have it conveyed to me safely. From him I am to receive a general credit upon Lyons and Montpelier, which I will use as sparingly as is possible. But I am going to a strange place, where I know not what expense may be requisite; though provisions and accommodations of all sorts are said to be much cheaper there than at Paris. I am a little distressed how to dispose of my coach horses conveniently, for I shall not keep them in my absence, and there is no use of them where I am going. For

* The Duchess of Buckingham.

my coach Sir Peter Redmond gives me room, and for all my furniture and utensils, which I shall not dispose of, but reserve for my use at my return to Paris. This is the state of my affairs. God bless you both, and all yours! Remember me in the kindest manner to Mr. Morice, and believe that I am, &c.*

The journey was determined on; indeed, arrangements for it were being made. In the next communication, where Atterbury mentions the Duke of Wharton, it is easy to imagine how sick the wearied, worried Minister must have been of his employment. Such colleagues were sure of making any cause hopeless; too many of them were birds of the same feather, without an atom of principle or steadiness of purpose: still more unfortunately for the cause, much the same unbecoming plumage characterized the leader of the precious flock.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Surenne, September $\frac{4}{15}$, 1723.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I wrote to Mrs. Morice, which I look upon to be writing to you. However, the bearer continuing some days here, I take the opportunity of writing separately to you, and thanking you for the return which is to carry me to Montpelier; where, and at Lyons, Mr. Waters gives me a general credit to make use of as I please, which, I believe, he has done (if ever before) very rarely. But he knows very well that I shall not abuse the trust he puts in me. I leave this place the 22nd, and go to Paris, where I shall stay a week, or thereabouts, to take my leave of friends and adjust all my affairs, and set out southward, in all probability, the 30th of this month, or at furthest the 2nd of next. I know not, after all, whether Walter may not think fit to go with me. If he does not, I must shift as well as I can with George on the road, and take a *valet de chambre* when I come to Montpelier. Osbaldeston goes with the baggage in the diligence

* Atterbury Papers.

to Lyons, where we meet, and go down the Rhone to Pont St. Esprit; and from thence by land to Montpelier. He leaves his wife behind him in a service. I hope to perform the journey, with proper rests, in twelve days. You shall hear from me when I come to the end of it.

I can say nothing of Obby but what I have said already. All is, and must be, left to your discretion and kindness. Should my brother drop, I fear you will have trouble enough to assert my right to the estate;* but it is certainly mine, and will repay all your trouble, when you have retrieved it. Perhaps it may be found necessary to complete the proof of my father's will in Chancery, which I carried as far as publication. You will find the proceedings, upon enquiry, about the year 1694, 5, or 6, as I remember.

I have sent you six copies of a Latin poem, written by an Irishman here at Paris; which in some parts of it is excellent, and approaches very near to the manner of versification in Virgil's Georgics. Pray give one to Dr. Wyntle, and another to Dr. Hales, a third to Mr. Nicoll, a fourth to Obby's quondam tutor, a fifth to Dr. Frewin, and keep the sixth yourself. I add two more for Dean Swift and Mr. Pope.

I hope you have retrieved the MS., which you put into Dr. Freind's hands, by the means of your sister;† I desire much to have it sent me to Montpelier. Mr. Waters, if it be lodged with him by the bringer of this, or by any other hand, will convey it. I dare say you are greatly embarrassed, partly with your own affairs, partly with those of Dr. Freind, in behalf of your sister, as also with Mead's bankruptcy. I am sorry there is such a weight of mine added to the scale, and wish I were with you to take care of them myself. But that cannot be. My health, and being out of the way, are the sole motives of my present journey;

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* At Great Houghton in Northamptonshire, which was entailed on the Bishop in the event of his elder brother leaving no *male* issue.—W. M.

† Anne, relict of John Freind, M.D., and eldest daughter of Thomas Morice, Esq., Paymaster of the British Forces in Portugal in the reign of Queen Anne. A second daughter was Mary, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, and mother of the late Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, M.A., student of Christ Church, Oxford, and one of the trustees of the British Museum, to which he became a munificent benefactor. He was distinguished for gentleness of manners, elegance of taste, and accuracy of knowledge. He died in 1799.—W. M.

for I desire to have as little to do as is possible with some wild people here, whom I am sick of. Wharton came to me hither as soon as he arrived, begged my blessing, swore he was no more a Papist than a Turk — proffered himself to the Embassador upon any terms, and would fain have gone over into England. When he was refused and prosecuted, he turned Papist and Jacobite again, and after that I never saw him.

North and Grey I have declined seeing, though he has been at Paris these four months, and wrote to me to beg a meeting. I did not think fit, after what he had done,* to give him one.

This is, at least, the sixth letter (and some of them very long ones) which I have written to you, or to Mrs. Morice, without any manner of answer to any one of them. God bless you both, and your children! I have been in danger of a fit of the gout, by a long cold, which usually ends in it. But I think I have escaped the fit, and shall be able to perform my journey. Skelton has some thoughts of going over to England. If he goes, you will remember how civil he has been to me. Adieu.†

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* William, Lord North and Grey, who had quitted the Church of England for that of Rome. He died in exile in 1734.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXILE AT MONTPELIER.

Walpole's Report respecting Atterbury—The benevolent Duchess and the young Duke of Buckingham—Reception in England of one of the Bishop's recent Productions—Osborn Atterbury—The Bishop's Mode of Living—The Prodigal Son—Mary Morice not permitted by her Father to visit Montpelier—He holds out a Prospect of their Reunion—Her Distress and increased Indisposition—The Bishop's Anxiety—She reiterates her Wishes—The Exile's decreasing Income—Procrastination—Sir John Dolben—Pecuniary Losses—French Prose Translation of Milton—The Bishop proposes to return to Paris—His Daughter directed by her Physician to go to the South of France—Preparations for her Departure—The Bishop retires to the Mountains—Writes to Rome.

TOWARDS the close of the autumn of 1728, Atterbury commenced his journey to the South, not sorry to turn his back upon the wretched intrigues which had been chafing his spirit since his arrival in Paris. Among the letters that followed him was the next. The statement of Sir Robert Walpole must have been news to the ex-minister, and if any reliance could have been placed in it, could scarcely fail of being agreeable. Fresh traits of the good Duchess's benevolence are added. The domestic news will not be found without interest—especially that respecting the pro-

digal son, of whom the Bishop had inquired so anxiously. The intelligence respecting the Jacobite Kelly shows how the cause was decaying in England.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.*

Holland House, $\frac{\text{September 26,}}{\text{October 7,}}$ 1728.

My honoured Lord,

I have received all the letters, which you mention to have written to me, except that which we expect by the hands of the young woman whom you recommend to Mrs. Morice for a service. She will do what she can in that matter, but believes it will be very little in her way to serve her. You complain of not hearing oftener from me by private hands. There are two reasons for my not writing more frequently that way. One is, the want of proper opportunities to write by, which do not offer themselves so often as you meet with them from Paris. The other is, that I have little to tell you which may not be said by the common post, there being a dearth of news at this time of the year, almost everybody (from whom I might expect to learn any) being in the country. All I can now tell you, as to reports relating to yourself, is that I was assured, near two months ago, that Sir Robert Walpole had given out that you had entirely shaken off the affairs of a certain person—were grown perfectly weary of that drooping cause, and had made some steps (by means of the Ambassador† at Paris) towards not being left out in the General Act of Grace, which, it is every now and then talked, will pass the next session of Parliament; and that you desired, above all things, to come home, and end your days in your own country. With what view this report has been spread by Sir Robert, I cannot tell; but I have it from undoubted intelligence that he has caused it to be so rumoured. I shall now proceed to answer such parts of your letters as I have not before taken notice of.

You may rest satisfied that I shall miss no proper occasion of representing how matters stand with you to our Park neighbour, who gives me as many opportunities for that purpose as I could wish. She is always very inquisitive about you, and loves to hear of your being pleased or displeased, just as things fall out

* Endorsed by the Bishop, "Received at Montpelier, Dec. 3."

† Horatio Walpole.

ill or well with you. This journey of yours will not be agreeable news to her; but I shall convince her that you have solid reasons for it. She is now in the country. Mrs. Morice, before she went, made the congratulations on the young Duke's happy recovery. They were well and kindly received. She told me the two hundred pounds was no gift of hers, but a legacy from Dr. Chamberlen. However, I was ordered not to take any notice of it to the daughters; and am apt to think it comes from her, though she will not have it thought so. I shall receive the money as soon as she comes to town. I understand a monument is to be erected at the young Duke's charge, and that it is now in hand. An inscription will be wanting for it by the time it is finished. You will, therefore, think of that matter. I have a very pretty mourning ring to forward to you; it is adorned with a few small diamond sparks, and is what they call a star and garter ring. It may be worth £5 or £6.

I find you misunderstand my meaning in what I wrote about Mr. H. I agree it is very improper for you to say anything *directly* about the point I mentioned. It would certainly rather prevent than forward any good intention that way; but I think you would do well sometimes to enquire after him in your letters, and in such a manner as I may show him the paragraph. He heard of the papers about the Physician in Virgil, and applied to me to let him see them. I obliged him with the perusal, and he was extremely delighted. Dr. John Freind showed them to several people, and Dr. Robert Freind is full of his praises of them. I have retrieved the original papers, but cannot bring myself to part with them. I love everything the better for being in your handwriting. I hope a fair copy of them will answer your purpose, which I shall send to Waters to be forwarded to you; so pray suffer me to detain the original.

As to Dr. Freind's circumstances, I compute that he died worth about fifteen thousand pounds. Queen Caroline has been so gracious to his memory as to settle one hundred guineas a year, in addition to my sister's* jointure, which is to be paid her punctually, without any solicitation or deduction. The Law Lord shall know that you are no ways concerned in certain affairs.

My uncle Atterbury† is at Bath, in a declining way; and it is

* The Doctor's Widow. † Dr. Lewis Atterbury.

thought cannot last long. I shall do everything that is proper in case of his death, and assert your right in the best manner that is possible. In that, and everything else, you may depend on my having a watchful eye over your interest.

You guess very rightly at my silence in relation to brother Obby. He is indeed far from what his sister and I could wish him, and it is to no purpose to vex you about him. He is in the house with us, and we shall keep him as much out of harm's way as is possible for us. About Christmas he is to make another trip to China. I have, I think, secured him the station of a mate on board the *Lynn*. If going in that rank will not bring him to think a little more than he has hitherto done, I cannot tell what can be done further for him. It was a favour to obtain the rank of mate for him, to which his own character gives him very little pretence. I am obliged to Mr. Gibbons (who happened to be one of the Directory of the South Sea in the year 1720) upon this occasion; and, by the same interest, I shall be able to advance him still higher, if his own misbehaviour does not render it impracticable for anybody to serve him. The captain of the ship is nephew to Mr. Gibbons, a very worthy man, of the same way of thinking with myself, and will do everything he can towards working a reformation in my brother in regard to whose son he is. If you added a line or two in your letters, telling me how kindly you take the service Mr. Gibbons has done, I should be pleased, and could make a good use of it. If Mr. Skelton should make a voyage to England, we shall take care to receive him in such a manner as I hope he will be pleased with.

I do not much wonder to hear of Kelly's writing and complaining he is unsupported. Hitherto he has had a plentiful allowance —ever since his confinement ten guineas per month through my hands, and what other benefactions he may have had, I cannot tell; but I believe he has chosen to live well, and lay up little or nothing; and now there seems to be an end of the collection which has annually been made towards paying him one hundred and twenty guineas yearly. Several of the benefactors are dead, several weary of such incumbrances; and the whole club (from whence greatest part of the bounty came) is in a manner dissolved. He has written teasing letters to me; and I think of pressing Mr. Cotton, our steward, whose note you know I have for the remainder of £500, of which £200 is still due, to pay off

that balance, that I may apply it for Kelly's use. You never ordered me to pay him that sum in ready money (nor should he have it all at once whilst he continues a prisoner) unless I could obtain the payment of Cotton's note, or some such other remnants which are like to lay by a great while undischarged. However, if Kelly's necessities increase, I must, I believe, supply him with a little ready money, whether I can draw any from Cotton or not; and I shall expect to hear more from you on that head.—I am, &c.*

This was followed by another from the same hand, intimating the distress the Bishop's long journey had caused his daughter, and her determination to go to him next year wherever he might be. The necessary funds are transmitted, as well as an equally welcome letter from his attached friend at Twickenham.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

October $\frac{7}{18}$, 1728.

My honoured Lord,

I have your letter of the 29th September, which tells me of your being to begin your journey next day. God send you safe to the end of it! We shall be very uneasy until we hear of you at Montpelier. My wife is quite dejected at the thoughts of your being so far off. I do all I can to comfort her. The circumstance of not selling your coach and furniture is a good omen, I hope, of your returning to Paris again next year: if you do not, we are resolved to follow you wherever you shall be. I shall remit a bill for the value of two hundred pounds by this night's post, that there may be money ready in Waters's hands for you.

Sir John Dolben is returned from abroad. He has been at Spa. Both he and his lady intend in a short time to set out again for France, and to spend some time in the south parts of it. I have lately received the sum of fifty pounds. I have gotten all your books into my possession, and lodged them safe at Holland House. As soon as I receive the copies of the Latin poem, they shall be distributed as you direct.

* Atterbury Papers.

I cannot tell whether the English newspapers will reach you at Montpelier: if they do, you will find we have lost Doctor Hale,* who died of an apoplexy the 28th of last month. His death is very much regretted by all who knew him.

My wife intends you a letter very soon; in the mean time sends her duty.—Believe me, &c.

Lord Mar is expected home every day. I enclose you Mr. Pope's letter.†

In the middle of October the Bishop resumed his pen, but the account he gave of the picturesque locality in which he had arrived was scarcely satisfactory. The retrenchment demanded by his diminishing finances does not appear to have been so easy of accomplishment as had been anticipated, in consequence of the prodigality of the new arrivals, his compatriots, having raised prices—a contingency that has happened to Montpeliers all over the continent. Nevertheless, he promised to live as closely as possible, with half a dozen domestics.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, October $\frac{4}{15}$ 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I performed the journey hither in ten days, without any ill accident whatsoever; and am so far from finding any inconvenience from the journey, that I think I am already much the better for it; and doubt not but this place will, by my staying here this winter (as I resolve to do), contribute every day more and more towards re-establishing my health and strength, as far as my age and infirmities will allow me to expect.

I have not yet fixed on a house, but shall in a day or two, and hope to be as well accommodated as I was at Paris, and at a much lower price. The wine here is cheap: in other things I find not that the rate is so low as I expected it, though lower

* Richard Hale, M.D. † Atterbury Papers.

than it was at Paris. I thought half what I spent there would have been sufficient here; but find myself mistaken in that account. The English have thrown away their money too liberally here, and contributed to raise the price of things, especially wherever they are concerned. I will be as good a manager as I can in every respect, and endeavour, while I stay here, to save the extraordinary expense of the journey. When I am fully settled, and can be able to judge certainly of my expense, you shall hear further from me. I have with me Osbaldeston, Walter, and George, besides Salkeld; and must have a cook of the place, and perhaps a French footman. There are no coaches here, but chairs only, which I shall not have much occasion for, resolving to be as little acquainted with the French, and to make as few visits to them as I can; and from those of our country you know I am excluded. If my health mends here, it is all I aim at; and am, therefore, determined to live here with the utmost privacy. God bless you, Mrs. Morice, and her children! Think of me, as I do of you, with all manner of affection and tenderness!*

The Bishop wrote several letters during his journey, but they have not been preserved; their character may be imagined from the affectionate notice of them in his daughter's acknowledgment. This is short, considering the desire her father must then have experienced to hear from her; but there is little doubt that causes prevented her making a longer communication. Her husband wrote two days later, and then it appears that the black sheep of the family, whose departure for a long voyage she was waiting to announce, had caused her loving heart fresh distress by his irregularity, and she had been unable to fulfil her duties as a correspondent. This trouble, and her anxiety respecting her father, aggravated her complaint.

* Atterbury Papers.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, November 21, December 2, 1728.

Dear Papa,

You have now been settled long enough at Montpelier to judge how far that place will be agreeable to you, and answer the purposes of health for which you undertook the journey. I am told the air is very sharp during some part of the winter, which is not so favourable to anybody that has the gout; but I hope you will have very few touches of it—as many only as shall be necessary to preserve your health, and no more. Mr. Morice and I have received all the letters you wrote to us, as well upon your journey as since you reached the end of it. They are extremely kind and moving, and would serve to raise my duty and affection towards you, if it were possible to improve and heighten either. Believe me, dear papa, they cannot be encreased, and will always remain unchangeable. So far I will deserve the love and tender regard you have for me, which it is not in my power to merit otherwise.

My brother goes on board to-morrow, and the ship will sail from Gravesend in a day or two after. I have answered your commands in taking all the care of him I possibly could, and Mr. Morice has done everything in his power to serve him, and put him in a good way. I wish he would do as well by himself. He is an unaccountable young man: however, I cannot but love him with all his faults. We carried him yesterday to Highgate to take leave of my uncle, who says he has done something for him in his will, and gave him five guineas as a present to encourage him to behave well and mind his business at sea. He is mightily broken and decayed; so that it seems impossible for him to hold out much longer, though his last journey to Bath did him some little service.—I am, dear papa, &c.*

Mr. Morice wrote again on the 5th, chiefly respecting the incorrigible Obby, of whom he states:—

He has behaved himself of late most scandalously and unaccountably, and I wish the ship may not have left Gravesend and

* Atterbury Papers.

him behind, for yesterday, in the afternoon, I was surprised with an account that he was seen at Kensington about noon, though he had taken leave of his sister and me some days before, in order to go directly aboard ship, where his chest and all his luggage have been shipped above a fortnight ago. In a day or two I shall be certain whether he has taken it into his head to be left behind or not, and next week you may depend on hearing fully from me of what happens. His behaviour has so much troubled my wife that it has had an ill effect upon her health, which at best is but indifferent.*

The effects of the climate of Montpelier on the exile are described by himself in the following communication: it must have created acute disappointment to his daughter. Her contemplated journey to join him was forbidden. The reasons given for this appear to have more in them of the diplomatist than the parent, and suggest that he still entertained the idea of a further journey.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{November 24,}}{\text{December 5,}}$ 1728.

Dear Mr. Morice,

Your letter of November 1st, N.S., reached me here on the 14th, and relieved me as to the concern I was under lest ill health or ill accidents should have hindered you and Mrs. Morice from writing to me for so long a time after I had written so many letters to you, and assured you that yours to me would find me wherever I was upon my journey. Being easy in that respect, I stayed, before I wrote again, till I was able to tell you upon sure grounds how this place agreed with me, and received your letter of October $\frac{3}{14}$, which you say you sent me; but hitherto I have heard nothing of it, and begin to think now that I never shall. I shall therefore delay no longer informing you that the effects of my journey have been as I expected, and indeed beyond what I expected, the air of this place agreeing

* Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, V., 128.

perfectly well with me. For that I came, and on that I rely without using any medicine; and have just reason to hope that by the means of it I shall by next spring establish my health upon a better foot than it has been for many years past. I doubt not of this news being welcome to you, and where I am I have no other to send you.

What you write to me about Obby would sensibly afflict me were it not what I had long expected, and consequently no surprise to me. God reward you for taking all that care of him he will permit you to take! To your conduct he must entirely be left. I know you will do everything for the best, and, whatever you do, shall implicitly approve it. It is uneasy to me to dwell on that subject; therefore do not wonder if I enter into no particulars of it, but believe me as thankful to you for all your care and trouble in that respect as if I explained my sense of it on every article.

I am glad my brother is returned better from Bath than he went; and take it for granted that your family is all well, since neither you nor Mrs. Morice intimate anything to the contrary. The money you last returned me to Waters lies untouched in his hands, and will so lie there till towards Christmas. I can keep no coach here, and stir out so seldom that I do not even keep a constant chair. My great expense is my lodging, which is very good. My table, you know, never cost me much at Paris, and will cost me less here, according to that manner of living which agrees best both with my health and inclination: so that I hope while I stay here to save all the extraordinary charges I was at in quitting Paris and removing hither, and will be as careful as I can to keep within the bounds of what I have to support me. I see no English paper here, and know no more of what passes anywhere than I find in the *Amsterdam Gazette;* and it is well that my curiosity is as much abated as my knowledge, and that the state of ignorance I am in adds no great weight to what else has befallen me.

This letter, if I reckon right, will be with you in ten days—that is, on Wednesday, the 15th, N.S.,—for it will reach Paris on Friday, the 10th, and will go from thence the next day towards England; and your letters from thence will reach me here in the same time if you contrive them so as to arrive at Paris the day before the post days to this place, which are three

every week—Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday. The English post, therefore, that sets out on Monday and comes in on Saturday, will lose no time in conveying what you write to me. As to the other weekly post on your side (that of Thursday, I mean), the letters that come by it will lie three days at Paris before they are forwarded. Make your letters up with as little form and bulk as you can, for I desire not to pay for more covers than are necessary, and they charge me sometimes by ounces, which is an expense that, according to the frugal way I am in, I would avoid.

I must add to this letter another for Mrs. Morice; and therefore take my leave of you with earnest wishes that God may bless you and yours, and return you tenfold all the kindness you have shown me! *

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{November 24,}}{\text{December 5.}}$ 1728.

My dear Heart,

I thank you for yours of November 1st, N.S., which gave me infinite satisfaction after so long a silence. I have told Mr. Morice how well this place agrees with me, and repeat it to you that I could not have taken a better step than this with respect to my health. The very journey did me wonderful service; and I have been far from relapsing since I came hither.

I have heard from Paris of a letter of yours to a lady there, wherein you say (what you have not mentioned to me) that you intend for Montpelier next spring. I am obliged to you, my dear Heart, for so kind a thought; but, though the executing it would give me the greatest pleasure in this world, must oppose it, for, to tell you the truth, I know not whether I shall be here long enough in the spring for you to reach me, if it were otherwise convenient for you to take a journey so long and troublesome. My wintering in good air will greatly tend towards recovering my health; but I depend still more on my moving about in the spring, and cannot therefore answer for myself that I shall at that time be to be found here. Content yourself to hear at a distance that I am well, as I hope will be the case; and resign me, as I do you and yours and all my affairs, to God's

* Atterbury Papers.

providence; and resolve to think that what must be is always best for both of us. It is certainly so, my dear! Be easy in that thought, as I also shall endeavour to be, and aim not at anything that, if it could be compassed, would draw great inconveniences on you, your husband, and family. I am incapable of doing you much good; and I would put you to as little expense and trouble as is possible. God bless you, my dear! and He will bless you, I am sure, for the duty and tenderness you have shown towards me. Wherever I am, you may be sure that you are always in my thoughts, and that there is no degree of an affectionate concern that I do not feel for you. I shall conclude without form, and not add even my name: if what I have written were in any other hand than my own, yet you could not miss that which it came from.

P.S.—This moment I receive your husband's letter of the 3rd, for which I thank him most heartily; but have scarce time to peruse it before the post goes out here to-day, and must therefore defer my answer to some other.*

Mary Morice, very like her father, was not easily turned from a settled purpose. She had set her heart on joining him in the South of France, and would not abandon the idea.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

December 30, 1728.

Dear Papa,

Many thanks to you for your last letter, which tells me how well you find yourself after your journey. You happened to remove in a very lucky season, for we have terrible weather in these parts—frost and snow in abundance—which makes the winter very uncomfortable. I daily wish myself nearer the sun, and to be with you. I can hardly bring myself to use pen and ink this cold weather; but the entrance of a new year calls upon me to renew my professions of duty to you, and to offer my wishes for more happy years to come than the six last have proved; and as the old year has left you in pretty good health,

* Atterbury Papers.

my hope is that the new one will confirm and perfect it. In this wish Mr. Morice joins, and desires me to tell you so.

I find, notwithstanding my correspondence is confined to a short compass, you can get intelligence of it. What I dropped in a letter to a certain lady at Paris about my intentions of travelling next year, has, it seems, reached you. Pray don't bring yourself easily to forbid my coming, and you need give no great encouragement to it. Montpelier is not too far for so good a traveller as I am, and I hope your next removal will not carry you farther off. I readily fall into the belief of your affection and tenderness for me, but don't let me be hindered from giving instances of mine.

My brother is at last gone for China. I was in great fears of his being left behind, which would probably have been a misfortune to his relations, but a greater to himself. Whilst he is abroad he is pretty much out of danger, and scarce anything could have kept him so at home. Mr. Morice has sent you enough of his character to make you uneasy, and satisfy you how unaccountable his conduct is. For some weeks before he went there did not pass a day in which his mismanagements did not give me the greatest degree of trouble and concern. I forbear saying more of him now, and it will be some time before you need be troubled with any further accounts of him.*

The letter concludes with assurances of duty from all the members of the writer's family, and of her own affection.

The contest of love was likely to continue, but the father, in renewing his prohibition, promised advantages that he thought could not fail to reconcile the devoted daughter to her present separation. He acknowledges that these brief and occasional reunions were too trying to him, and held out a prospect of their remaining together for an unlimited period. Still there was an evident intention of protracting his residence at a distance, and the proposed retreat to

* Nichols. Epist. Corr., IV., 180.

the mountains in the summer probably would be a pretext for accomplishing another purpose. It is evident, however, that he was engaged in literary pursuits, which might prevent his filling any administrative post.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, January $\frac{18}{28}$, 1728–9.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I sent to W. to write, when I could not without difficulty write myself, that you might be under no alarm as to the state of my health. My fit is over, and I entirely recovered, notwithstanding the severity of the season. Wherever I had wintered, I am satisfied I should have had it, and perhaps in a much more troublesome manner had I not removed so far southward; a step which I am not sorry I took, and doubt not but I shall find it of considerable advantage to me in point of health.

I was pleased by your last letter to find that Obby was actually aboard, whatever expenses his voyage may have put me to. I am as frugal here as I can be, and shall need only an £100 more in March next, though the sooner you return it to Mr. Waters the better. With that, I believe I shall be able to remove myself to some other place, if I quit this in April; upon which I am not fully resolved. Whatever I do, and wherever I go, I shall not consent to Mrs. Morice's and your coming over to me until I am fixed somewhere at no great distance from the coast, where it will be no great inconvenience to you to come over and see me, and perhaps spend with me some considerable part of the few years of life that are now left me. I have no pleasure in the thought of seeing you by fits and snatches, and being then deprived of you. Mrs. Morice must not judge from thence that my love to her abates: it never can. It is because I love her so much that I do not care to see her little, and choose rather not to see her at all.

I am extremely beholden to Mr. Gibbons for his kindness to Obby, especially considering how little that unhappy youth deserves it. It is hard that I cannot return him so much as my thanks for the favour. You will do it for me in your own name, and in the most handsome manner; for I am truly sensible of

his civilities in a case where it is out of my power to make him any return.

There is a little busy Abbé here in the neighbourhood, a friend and favourite of Mr. H., and who used to correspond with him. I enquired of him, but he says that he has had no news of Mr. H. of late; who I hope, however, is well and vigorous notwithstanding: if I mistake not, he is some years older than I am.

You send me no word of the particulars relating to Doctor Chamberlen—his age, marriages, family, &c., notwithstanding I wrote so long ago for them; nor do I hear anything of that paper of mine which I wrote for above four months ago, and which you said you would send me. I am glad you have my books in your custody. I wish they were in mine, for I want them. But there is a good library here, out of which I am supplied very liberally; and, to tell you truth, now I am recovered, I spend my whole time in them. What you say of my brother's kindness to Obby, I understand just as you do: there is no remedy at present but silence.

I can say no more at present to all yours of Sept. 26, Nov. 7, Dec. 5, and Jan. 16, which are all I have had from you; nor can I particularly answer dear Mrs. Morice's of November the 21st. My love and blessing to her and you, and to all your little family! Adieu! Thank you for the trouble you give yourself about Obby. I grudge no expense that turns to account; but methinks you should not encourage him too much by large supplies, if there be no hopes of amendment.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{January 21,}}{\text{February 1,}}$ 1728-9.

My dear Heart,

Your letter of December the 30th, O.S., reached me here January the 29th; and I make use of the first opportunity to thank you for it, and to assure you how glad I am to have an account under your hand of your own health and that of your family; which I pray God may continue. I am got rid of my gout in every respect but that of the weakness of my legs, which still confines me. I imagined the cold to be very severe here; and so it was with respect to the clime: but the accounts

* Atterbury Papers.

I have from all parts more northward, of the excessive degree of it there, makes me think (as other people do) that I should have smarted worse under it, had I continued at Paris; and that my journey hither in autumn was a lucky step at least, if not a wise one. The frost has ceased here these eight days, and the air is now as mild and warm, and the sun as strong, as it is with you in England at the end of April: besides that we have an hour's day light more than you, and such a day light as is very agreeable at this season, because the sky is seldom clouded. So that I promise myself from hence great benefit during my stay here. How long that may be, I know not; but I am told such terrible things of the summer heats here, that I think I must dislodge before that time, either by returning northward, or by retreating somewhere into the neighbouring mountains for four months; in which, I am told, the air is not only not troublesomely hot but cool and refreshing.

The uncertainty of my motions, which will be governed by my health and convenience, renders it unfit for you, my dear Heart, to think of coming over to me. The greatest satisfaction I can have in this world would be to see you. But I must defer it till I am fixed in some place to which you can resort easily without prejudice to your affairs and without trouble to yourself—such a trouble, I mean, as I can never consent you should undergo, though you seem to overlook it. The more willing your tenderness for me makes you to ramble after me into remote parts, the less willing I am, from the same motive on my side, to suffer it. Therefore be contented, my dear Heart, to hear from me, till I am settled where it may be convenient for you not only to see me, but spend some time with me. I believe that will not be at Paris (whither, at present, I have no intentions of returning), but somewhere nearer you: and there I shall fix once for all, after I have drawn all the advantages I hope for from the air of this place. I have but little life left; and you need not doubt therefore of my pitching on some certain abode, where I may spend the rest of it in quiet, as soon as ever my circumstances will suffer me.

I say nothing to you about your brother: I can say nothing that will please either of us. I am satisfied that Mr. Morice and you have done everything for him on your part that is proper. If all fails, there is no help: God's will be done! I

wrote to Mr. Morice nine days ago: my love and blessing to him and to all your family.

If I mistake not, this is the day on which the Parliament is to meet. The Dutch Gazettes, that reach me here at eight hundred miles' distance from you, tell me so. Adieu, my dear Heart! and believe that no day passes which does not shorten that distance, and make you present to my mind; which never thinks of you but with the utmost affection and tenderness, for I am always, in all places and in all conditions, equally your loving father.*

The Bishop wrote to Mr. Morice, chiefly on business affairs, on the 15th of February. At the close he becomes peremptory respecting the proposed visit. He wrote:—

My love and blessing to Mrs. Morice and your children. Nothing upon earth would be more welcome to me than her company and yours; but it is impracticable at present to have it. I have no home to invite her to—and God knows when I shall have one. Adieu, and believe me both of you ever remembering you with all the concern and tenderness imaginable!†

Before the close of the month he wrote again to his daughter. The reports he had had of her declining health evidently alarmed him, and he with equal earnestness and tenderness again recurs to his project for a reunion.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, February $\frac{1}{2}\frac{9}{8}$, 1728–9.

My dear Heart,

I am very much concerned to hear, by a letter I received last night from Mr. Morice, that you continue ill, and that your cold has settled into a cough which I am sensible will not be soon or easily removed but by better air than that you breathe, at Westminster; and therefore this, I hope, will find you at Kensington—fixed there till it can be convenient for

* Atterbury Papers.

† Nichols. Epist. Corr., &c., IV., 193.

both of us to meet somewhere in France, nearer than we used to do, in order to shorten your journey forwards and backwards, and lengthen your stay with me, as your husband gives me hopes the case will be.

I have no pleasure left in this world so great as that of seeing you; and that pleasure would be increased at present by the hopes of your regaining your health in the air of France, which has restored to me in good measure mine, notwithstanding my age and infirmities. And yet I must deny myself that satisfaction till I can pitch upon a convenient place, where I may hope to spend the remaining part of my life without rambling from one place to another, as I have hitherto done. It is difficult for me to manage that matter at a distance, though I am now trying to do it; and hope in a little time to compass it by the means of a proper hand I have employed for that purpose. As soon as that affair can be settled to my mind, you shall have notice of it; and I will then prepare to leave this place, notwithstanding I find by the experience I have had of this clime that I should probably better consult my health by staying here. That consideration shall not retard my journey towards you as soon as I am ripe for it; and, when I am, I will lose no time in informing you. In the meantime, my dear Heart, take care of your health, and get to Kensington as soon as you can, if you are not there already. We are about eight hundred miles off from one another; and, to show you how much I desire to spare you the trouble of travelling, six of that eight shall be my part of the journey.

Tell Mr. Morice that I have the enclosed bill of £100 sterling which he sent me; and am now so rich, with what I had before in cash, that I think verily I shall want no more during my stay here, and till he himself brings me a new supply. Can you be content to live any time on this side of the water without seeing Paris? That, I am afraid, will and must be the case. I would choose that it should be so for myself; and I shall be the better pleased with that choice if I find that you are contented with it. I have some of the letters Mr. Morice mentions, but not all. Love and blessing to him and to your children!

If it be possible for me to think of you with more tenderness than I used to do, depend upon it that is the case at present. I have no mind to finish this letter; but the more I write, the more I desire to write to you. The best way is to be abrupt;

therefore adieu, my dear Heart, without further ceremony! God restore your health, and preserve it till we see one another! *

F. R.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{February 23,}}{\text{March 6,}}$ 1728-9.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I wrote to Mrs. Morice on the 27th of February, and therein acknowledged the receipt of your bill of £100. I have received nothing since from you. The accounts of the person dead † are come to hand; but contain not instructions particular enough for the purpose; which you know in such cases must mention the age of the person to a day, and every other circumstance, fit to be taken notice of, with the utmost exactness. I find there is no great haste, since one part of the design is executing at so much greater a distance. However, no time shall be lost: and I am a little impatient to have, what is still behind, the gentleman's account of the methods he has taken in educating a certain person,‡ which I have daily expected; and, when it comes, will speak what I feel on that head, for I am really struck with a sense of the prudence, goodness, and tenderness with which that affair has been transacted; and should be concerned to the utmost at my incapacity towards being useful in it, did I not hope and believe, considering the hands that matter is in, my help would in great measure be needless.

I find where I am a good many people remembering a friend of yours, Mr. H., with pleasure and respect. He lived and entertained people here, they tell me, with great generosity; and I find the memory of it is fresh in the minds of some I converse with, and that he did honour to our country by his bounty on that occasion.

Perhaps by the time this reaches you, I shall have entered on my sixty-seventh year; which makes me the eagerer to see Mrs. Morice and you, once at least before I die; and I hope that once will be for a longer time than usual, as you kindly promise me. I cannot get away from hence as yet, but will as soon as I

* Atterbury Papers.

† Dr. Hugh Chamberlen.

‡ The young Duke of Buckingham.

can; and, when we can agree upon the time of your coming over, will fully instruct you in relation to a legal draft I want, and which till I have, and have made use of in the way I have declared to you, I shall not be easy. There is no dallying in such a case at my time of life; for although I am really in a much better state of health than I have been these many years, yet I cannot expect to continue so long, especially when I return northwards.

I am very uneasy till I hear how Mrs. Morice does: the account you gave me of her in your last I did not like. God bless her, and you, and all yours! F. R.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{February 25,}}{\text{March 6,}}$ 1728–9.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I am concerned to hear the account of Mr. Lowe's death in general, and would be glad more particularly to know all the circumstances of it. I made him Chapter Clerk,† as you know, increased his fees, and was every way his best friend and benefactor. But when he saw me fallen upon and in the Tower, he proved extremely false and ungrateful to me. I write with some impatience to know the real truth of the matter as soon as the news of the accident reached me.

I have nothing to say to the matter of my books till I am fixed in some place nearer you; about which I am come as yet to no positive resolution. Nothing could be more welcome to me than the account of Mrs. Morice's growing better under Doctor Wintle's care. God restore her health perfectly to her! My blessing and love to you both, and to your little fireside. Adieu! F. R.‡

On the 15th of March, the Bishop wrote to his son-in-law some commissions for him to execute. He added:—

I am trying to fix somewhere, and stay only at this place till

* Atterbury Papers.

† Of the Church of Westminster.—W. M. He became Coroner for that city and a magistrate, and died suddenly of apoplexy in February.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

I can have news of one to my mind, which I every day expect; and as soon as I have sure notice of such a place being provided, shall send word to you about it, and prepare for dislodging from hence, so as to be able to meet you somewhere nearer than I have hitherto done, where I can sit down in quiet and obscurity, and spend the remains of that little life which remains to me.*

Ten days later he wrote to his daughter, expressing the same wish to be nearer to her. She had formed the acquaintance of Mrs. Panton while in Paris, and had a woman's sympathy for that lady's position. The commencing paragraph refers to the kind Duchess:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, March 25, 1729.

My dear Heart,

The enclosed is not to be opened by you, but delivered with your own hand to the person in the world for whom you know I have the greatest regard; and having said that, I need not name any one or give any farther directions.

'Tis a long while that I have desired to hear how you do under your own hand, which you have not been so kind as to let me know now for about three months, though I have had in that time four letters from Mr. Morice—January 1st, 13th, and 30th, and February 10th, O.S.—the last of which set me a little at ease as to your health, and assured me your cough was gone off, and that he had great hopes of your being soon perfectly well, under the care of Dr. Wintle. I long to have that news confirmed.

After stating the dates of his own letters, he adds:—

I cannot yet procure a place for me in that part of France that is next to England, and till I do so must be content to stay here, where I have the satisfaction to find that my health

* Atterbury Papers.

improves so much the more by how much the farther I am at a distance from my country. Even that itself does not make that distance desirable. I shall neglect nothing on my part to shorten it, for I am extremely desirous of seeing you, and if it were possible, of spending with you more of the few last years of my life now remaining than I have done of those that preceded. But this must be as God pleases.*

The remainder of the letter states the nature of his claim on Mr. Panton, and assures his correspondent of his forbearance. This was followed by notes to her husband in March and April.

Mrs. Morice could not be brought to understand the necessity of her being prevented travelling to the South of France. She had no feminine admiration for the capital; she did not sufficiently appreciate distant and undefined prospects of joining her father, though the meeting might be longer; she clung to the idea of going to Montpelier, and tenderly reiterated her wishes, while appearing to submit to her fate.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, March $\frac{4}{11}$, 1728-9.

Dear Papa,

If I could think of you with more duty and affection at one time than another, the sixth of March would put me in mind of it; a day that, I think, I cannot employ better than in answering your two last letters, and wishing you joy of entering into a new year of life. I congratulate myself upon the fair prospect there is (from your present state of health) that you will live to see many; in that thought I comfort myself, and pray God I may long enjoy the pleasing satisfaction! I had not been so long without letting you hear from me, if I had not of late had worse health than usual. I believe the bad weather contributed to make it so; for, since the season is grown a little

* Nichols. Epist. Corr., IV., 206.

more mild and favourable within these three or four days, I find myself better; and, as the spring advances, I live in hopes my health will encrease with it. My physician promises me it will; and I wish he may guess right.

I am pleased with the thoughts of your removal from the place where you are to some other much nearer to us, whose distance may take away the objection you make against my coming over. Nothing but such a step could make me easy at staying in England this summer: and I hope such a place may be found out at a moderate distance as will not, either by its air or situation, prove injurious to your health, which ought always in the first place to be consulted without regard to the trouble you imagine a longer journey would give me. I should think it none, and fancy I should find myself better at the end of it. As to Paris, I scarce remember it since you are out of it. Montpelier is now uppermost in my thoughts, and, wherever I shall happen to meet you next, that place will be most agreeable to me.

I am not yet settled with my family at Kensington, the weather having been so forbidding; but in about ten days I propose quitting Delahay Street for Holland House, where I shall often think of you and frequently tell you so. Mr. Morice is very well, and desires his duty. He sends his compliments on your birthday, with wishes of many happy years to you. Believe me, &c.*

It has already been intimated that several wealthy Jacobites had joined in contributing certain annual sums for the support of Atterbury during his exile. They had been irregularly paid, and one after another had been discontinued, till scarcely one pensioner except the kind-hearted Duchess remained. The prudent son-in-law had the disagreeable task of communicating these failures. There were other financial shortcomings that must have been equally unwelcome news; borrowers would not pay; the

* Atterbury Papers.

defaulters seem also to have been Jacobites—one the same Panton that the ex-Minister had unprofitably recommended to the service of James. In addition there was the Nonjuror Kelly still in prison, who claimed a considerable sum by way of recompense for his sufferings in the cause.

By such means the Bishop's resources were visibly contracting; nevertheless, he does not appear to have been to any extent inconvenienced. He had certainly put down his carriage and restricted his expenditure, but there was nothing in the condition of his affairs to give him serious uneasiness. He could realize the idea he had proposed of taking a house near the coast, and living comfortably there with his daughter and her family. Week, however, followed week, and month succeeded month, and he was still at Montpelier. The communications that passed between him and them prove how desirous both were for the completion of this arrangement; but it was far from being of easy accomplishment. The house in the desired locality could not be obtained.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, April $\frac{11}{22}$, 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I thank you for your letter of March the 24th, Old Style, and that which followed it. The account of Mr. Lowe's death is a very melancholy one; but I was desirous to know the truth.

I guess why you send for new orders about the knives. I suppose you knew a case was sent by another. That will not hinder my demand, which is for two dozen of knives without forks, but with such handles as I formerly mentioned to you. You will add also the six pair of glass arms, and have them so packed, when they are put aboard for Bordeaux, that there may be no danger in the carriage.

I have written to you before to do just as you please in relation to the lease of the Market Place, [Westminster]. Mrs. Morice and you have more interest in it than I have. God send Doctor Wyntle may be as good as his word, and restore her this spring to her perfect health! My blessing and love to her! I have written to her twice within these three weeks, and hope what I sent did not miscarry. I have a little of the gout, but not so as to be in pain with it; and have no reason to complain of the state of my health.

I suppose the session will be at an end in a little time; for the ordinary business of it seems to be pretty well over. When it is, you will have the more leisure to write to me. I have not received what you sent me last; but that is the fault of (or rather occasioned by) the person in whose hands it has stopped at Paris. He has promised me that I shall not be long without it. Our countrymen there are, I hear, full of reports about public affairs, of which they are no competent judges. I am not ill pleased to be out of the way at this juncture.

Believe me, dear Mr. Morice, ever mindful of you and desirous of seeing you; and till I do, when I do, and as long as I live, your and Mrs. Morice's ever affectionate father, F. R.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{April 22}}{\text{May 3}}$, 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I have yours of April $\frac{7}{18}$. I repeat what I have said. Expect no directions from me in relation to the affairs of my little estate, or other money concerns; but do as you judge most prudent and proper. You know my intentions as to settling both my real and personal estate. I continue immovably fixed in them, and am much concerned that I have not yet executed them. But if it pleases God to bring us together again, it is the first thing I will do; for although I am pretty well in health as to my old ail the gout, yet what I apprehend to be the stone grows upon me; and I am much weaker in my limbs than I used to be, though not in pain; and since my entering into a milk diet, that weakness is increased. In the meantime, I can hear of no house to my mind on the other side of Paris; and

* Atterbury Papers.

fear the heats will come on before I have such intelligence on that head as must determine my motions; and consequently that I shall be obliged to stay here till September, as I shall be unless I move in a week or ten days. This is the state of my case, altogether uncertain, and not a little concerned that it is so. Do therefore just as you would if that farm were your own; and ask me no more questions about such matters. I shall know them soon enough, whenever we meet. I shall impatiently expect that moment; but when and where it will be, God knows. I wrote to you, or Mrs. Morice, since those you mention—April 1st I think—but I am sure April 5th, 12th, and I believe 22nd; all which I hope are, ere this time, come to hand. I may mistake as to the first, and confound it with the letter you mention of March 31st (the day before April 1st), of which you own the receipt. What you sent to me some months ago sticks at Lyons still, but I shall have it by the beginning of next week; and have received the papers about the character of the physician in Virgil.

Some verses from Mr. Congreve to Lord Cobham have been sent me from Paris; which I suppose are esteemed at home, and should be glad to know to what degree. I had seen nothing of the kind a good while, and therefore was pleased to meet with it; though it seems to me that Mr. Congreve is, as he owns himself, a little *declined*.* What wonder, when he is near as old as I am! †

Blessing to Mrs. Morice and love, which I want words to express. God bless your little ones! I hear much of your son,‡ who you say is so full of duty. I shall not be contented till I see him myself on this side of the water. Adieu! &c.

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* Not so robust in body as in mind,
And always undejected, though declined.

† Mr. Congreve's death (of which it appears that the Bishop had not then heard) took place in the January preceding the date of this letter, when he had nearly completed his sixtieth year.—W. M.

‡ Francis, only son of Mr. Morice by his first wife Mary, the daughter of Bishop Atterbury. He was educated at Westminster School, and thence, in 1740, elected to a studentship of Christ Church, Oxford; where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1748. He afterwards became a Prebendary of Limerick, and rector of Six Mile Bridge, in the county of Clare, Ireland, where he died in 1778.—W. M.

I suppose the bill about paving the streets of Westminster takes it out of the hands of the Burgess Court.*

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, April $\frac{14}{25}$ 1729.

My honoured Lord,

I am apprehensive you will think me negligent, and blame me for not writing oftener to you by other channels than the common post. Indeed I have had so little to say (more than what I have lately sent you in several packets, all which I have the pleasure to hear are safely received) that it was not worth while to seek after any other conveyance than the post to write by. All I can now say, by Mr. Hereford, is what I am not well pleased to tell you, because the news will not be very agreeable. First, I shall acquaint you that the annuity of £50 per annum, which one would have thought might have been looked upon as a certainty from Sir John Dolben, is withdrawn. He did it in as handsome a manner as he could by letter to the gentleman from whom I lately received your books, to be communicated to me. The reason of this proceeding will perhaps give you more concern than the discontinuance of the annuity. The gentleman's affairs are but in a bad condition. He has contracted large debts, and has a numerous family of children, and his fireside increasing every year; so that the badness of his circumstances, more than want of health or eyesight, has obliged him to come to the resolution of travelling and staying abroad for some time in order to retrieve his affairs. In his letter to Mr. N., he expresses his hopes that this step, which necessity obliges him to take, will not be looked upon by the person, for whom he has the greatest veneration and respect, as want of zeal or affection, but that it will be attributed to the true cause—that of his inability in his present circumstances to continue the payment. I have little better news to send you in relation to my Welsh friend, and begin to fear that my expectations and his promises will end in nothing. As to the Western gentleman, he never comes near the town; so, if anything happens to arrive from that quarter, it will be more than I depend on. As to your money affairs, all interest, you know, is

* Atterbury Papers.

at four per cent., and it is not very easy to obtain even that. Large sums of money are daily lent, as I am informed, at three and a half per cent. I have not yet been able to get in the £800 lent on mortgage to Mr. Burgoyne, nor has a shilling of interest been paid me; though there is an arrear of three years and upwards. Mr. Cotton not only advised, but desired me to advance that money. I wish you would take occasion to write me a few lines on a separate paper, expressing your dissatisfaction that I cannot obtain that money without trouble, and how unkindly you take it in Mr. Cotton that he does not see it repaid with interest. Such a letter from you would probably influence Mr. Cotton to finish this affair; else, pray order me to proceed by law, and after that, Cotton cannot blame me whenever I think proper to begin.

As to public matters, they go on in the old channel. Sir Robert Walpole carries everything as he pleases, though the opposition he meets with in the House of Commons has, no doubt, sufficiently vexed and teased him this session; and the pamphlets, which have been constantly published without doors, must have given him no little uneasiness. The *Craftsman* you see every week. That paper gives a pretty good insight into affairs; and many are still of opinion that the great man will scarcely be able to hold his power a year longer, though I fancy that depends mostly upon the event of matters abroad; but the most judicious men, with whom I happen sometimes to converse, think he is so well riveted in the King's and Queen's good graces that they will not part with him.

I told you in a former letter that I apprehended I should be obliged to supply Kelly with money, whether Mr. Cotton paid the £200 remaining due on his note or not. I cannot obtain that money yet of Cotton; but there is now a necessity of letting K. have money on account of the promise he claims from you of £200; for all subscriptions for his support have been long at an end, and folks are grown weary of continuing that bounty. Wherefore I have found it necessary to assist K., and that the £200 may not be squandered away at once, and he left in want, I advance him six guineas per month. I hope you will approve of what I have done. Some people of rank (formerly your benefactors) sent to me on this head; and there was no avoiding my compliance with it.

Thus much of my letter is disagreeable enough; but, that it may end better than it began, I can tell you Mrs. Morice will have her health again. Dr. Wyntle declared yesterday that he was now fully satisfied she would be perfectly recovered by the end of the summer, and she owns she finds herself better daily. She is got to Holland House, and you will soon have a letter from her. Your sealed packet, without a superscription, she received very safe, and took proper care of as you directed. The great lady of her acquaintance is extremely civil, nay affectionate to her. She is now in the country.

I am, with unalterable duty and affection, your lordship's most obedient son and servant, WM. MORICE.

P.S.—Just now I receive the news of Mr. Burgoyne's death, to whom I lent the £800; so it is become more necessary than before that you send me such a letter as I have mentioned, to be shown to Mr. Cotton. Mr. Shippen continues the same worthy man that he always was, and asks often after you. *

The unsatisfactory intelligence the Bishop contrived to get from England he received with comparative indifference. His other disappointments had been so frequent and so heavy, that pecuniary ones were scarcely regarded. We now learn what had been the extent of the loss he has sustained by the forfeiture of his ecclesiastical revenues. He is far less unconcerned respecting the condition of Westminster School, which he had exerted himself to improve. Towards the conclusion of this letter, the threatened loss of a large loan awakens him to a sense of his financial position. On the following day he wrote again to his son-in-law as well as to his daughter:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Dear Mr. Morice, Montpelier, May $\frac{1}{10}$, 1729.

I have yours of April $\frac{14}{25}$ by Hereford. It came yester-

* Atterbury Papers.

day, and at the same time by the post I received Mrs. Morice's of $\frac{\text{April 21}}{\text{May 2}}$. Some hours after came the packet which has lain at Lyons for some months, and which I have so long impatiently expected. The person from whom it was received will not wonder, when it is known how late those instructions arrived, that nothing has been done in virtue of them. No time now shall be lost, though there are still some particulars behind which have been written for, but not sent. Mrs. Morice, you say, had one sealed unsuperscribed packet: she ought to have, and I hope since that has received, another and disposed of it in the same manner, as she is always to do when she receives a letter without any direction upon it. Perhaps it will be the case at this very time, if I have leisure enough to write one.

I am not so much pleased with what you say of her being like to regain her health, as I am concerned, much concerned, at her manner of expressing herself on that head, who I am sure makes the best she can of it, and desires to alarm me as little as is possible. I see plainly she is worse than she owns herself to be, and shall therefore never be easy till she is in better air on this side of the water. I have done all I can to get a house somewhere toward the coast of France, over against England; but, through ill luck or the remissness of those employed, have not been able to procure one. I am in daily expectation of good news on that head; and the moment it comes will set out from hence, unless it comes too late after the heats are begun, in which case I must be contented to stay here till the beginning of September, which, though it may still mend my health, will not contribute to my ease; for, I repeat it again, I shall not be at rest till I see her. What signifies health to me, who have so little time to live, if, as fast as I gain, she loses it? She, I hope, has many years to come which it is worth her while to enjoy: the dregs of life that remain with me are scarce worth tasting. If all the misfortunes of the family centered in me alone, without her having so deep a share of them, I should either live in the world in the manner God pleases, or go out of it as soon as He pleases, with content. But in the state things are, health itself will be no further a pleasure than as it enables me to take the steps necessary to bring us nearer together, and to relish life a little after we are met. This, she may depend upon it, I will not fail to do as soon as it is possible.

Your letter, dear Mr. Morice, is full of what another would

call ill news in respect to the state of my fortune. But I am dead to those matters, if what is left will furnish me with the conveniences I cannot well be without. All beyond that concerns her, and you, and your children, more than me. I have made, perhaps, nine parts in ten of the journey of life, and shall scarcely want what is requisite to maintain me on the rest of the way till I get home. You do well, therefore, to tell me of those things which it is fit I should know, and of which the knowledge gives me not half so much pain as you may imagine. *Quid interest, si, quo minus est viæ, eo minus viatici supersit?* I lost two thousand a year at once. I speak at the least, as I had ordered the coming in of the revenues arising to me from both churches;* and I lost it with less concern than a few halfpence at play when I was a child. I am now near seven years older than I then was, and have therefore much less reason to be affected with such losses, provided there still remains enough to furnish the expenses requisite for the rest of the voyage. But enough on this head, which, as I have often told you, is more your concern than mine. Be as good a husband as you please for yourself and your children! For me, God, who has taken care of me hitherto, will not abandon me.

I am concerned for the circumstances of the worthy gentleman who has withdrawn himself.† But, since he is abroad, he might, with much safety and more decency, have written to me myself; and since he did not, there seems to be something more in it than appears: at least, it was not done with that kindness and respect which his letter to N. professes. But more of that when we meet. I enclose by way of postscript the paper you desire in relation to Burgoyne's money, which you will make use of in such a manner as you judge most likely to reach the effect.

I see the bill about paving the streets goes on, and suppose it is to the purpose I mentioned, and intended by little and little to make the Burgess Court useless, and prepare the way for a charter to the city of Westminster and a new way of governing it, which those concerned will not oppose hastily, and nobody else will be concerned for them. You say nothing of the dor-

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* Rochester and Westminster.

† The Rev. Sir John Dolben, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, and Visitor of Balliol College, Oxford. He was a staunch Jacobite. He survived till 1756.

mitory,* whether it be *in statu quo*. I have a little curiosity on that head, and should be really sorry if what I was able to do without the assistance of the chapter, they are not able without me, now it is carried so far, to complete; for everybody tells me there is now no objection remaining to the design itself. It is mere want of power, therefore, and not of will, which keeps it at a stand. You will think I have little to say when I write to you on these subjects; but they haunt my mind still, and make some impression on me.

Mr. D.'s present of knives, &c., to my landlord is come: there are but six each, knives, spoons, and forks, for a dessert; nor are they of the best work and fashion. He cannot produce them at a table where there are more than six persons; and yet the French tables are generally full ones. Pray let my present be better in its kind, though not expensive, and as well wrought as anything of that kind can be. Let the blades be the best that are to be had, and put in oil to prevent their rusting in such a sea passage. My host and hostess are perfectly civil, and have made my stay here very agreeable to me.

I can say nothing for or against what you have done as to Kelly. You can judge best what is fit to be done by me. And as to the disbursements upon repairs and every other expense, I depend implicitly upon your care and kindness.

You have been told, I believe, how you may write back to me again by the same hands which will convey this to you. Hereford's motions are too dilatory and uncertain to be depended on. It is now nine months since he went from hence last, and perhaps he will stay three months here before he returns. So I make use of the other channel. Adieu, dear Mr. Morice! I must write to your wife, if I can, still by this post. God bless you and yours!

F. R.

Montpelier, May $\frac{4}{15}$, 1729.

P.S.—I am concerned at what you tell me in yours about the sum lent to Burgoyne—that you have not received a shilling interest for it, and that you hear now he is dead. I wonder you have neglected that matter so long; but desire you not to lose a

* At the College, Westminster, which was ultimately rebuilt according to the plan of Bishop Atterbury.—W. M.

day now in taking care of it. You know my circumstances are such as will not permit me to lose, or long to want, even the interest of that money, much less to neglect the principal, which, if it should be lost, will straiten me exceedingly. Pray call it in without delay. If I could take anything unkindly of Mr. Cotton, to whom I am so much obliged, it would be that that matter, which is of such importance and was of his recommendation, should have been so long neglected. I fear now you will have some trouble in retrieving it. I have lived as frugally as I could since I was here, having laid down my coach before I left Paris; nor do I believe I shall be able to take it up again at my return. I dread the expense of the repairs at Crawley. That great house may prove a great burthen upon a very little farm* if some friend near the spot, whose honour and skill may be depended on, does not take care of that matter for me. I know not whether you have kept up your acquaintance with my kinsman Captain Chapman, who lives in the neighbourhood, understands those things well, and has, I believe, a sincere regard for me, if distance has not (as I find in many other cases it has) lessened it. What is become of the £200 for which you had a note under Mr. Cotton's hand?†

A few pages back the writer expressed indifference at the pecuniary losses that had been made known to him, but this postscript must have been written in a totally different spirit. The largeness of the sum at stake, in his straitened circumstances, ought to excuse his irritation.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, May $\frac{4}{17}$, 1729.

My dear Heart,

I received your kind letter of April 21, O.S., which gives me more concern than I care to express to you. Doctor Wyntle may promise what he will, but I have no trust in physicians; and shall never think you well taken care of till you are

* At North Crawley, near Newport Pagnell, in Buckinghamshire; a part of his mother's dower.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

with me, and in a better air than you can enjoy anywhere about London. I have tried, though unsuccessfully, at this distance, to procure a pleasant healthful spot, where we may meet once again to our mutual satisfaction; but as yet I have not been able to compass it. When I do, I dare say it will be your best and speediest cure; and therefore there shall be no loss of time in that matter but what is unavoidable. In the meanwhile, bear up your spirits, and believe that God has still reserved days of happiness for us: many for you, I hope, and some perhaps even for me; or, if not the latter, I will be satisfied with the former.

Thank you for taking care of my sealed unaddressed letters. Your husband mentions one, but I sent you two; and may perhaps in this enclose a third, if I have time for it. God bless you, my dear Heart, and all your little ones! I think of you with more tenderness, if it be possible, than ever I did; and am to the last degree impatient till we see one another. F. R.*

In the annexed communication the Bishop refers apparently to a prose version of "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained," by Dupré de St. Maur, which was retranslated into English as a prose narrative. There was more than one edition of this farrago. Atterbury still complains of his want of success in searching for the residence he requires. The delay caused by this difficulty had been impatiently borne by his affectionate daughter, to whom he wrote a few days later, holding out expectations of his returning to the neighbourhood of Paris, and desiring her to make her preparations for joining him there as soon as the necessary arrangements for a house had been completed.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, May ⅌, 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

Again and again I tell you that I consent not only to

* Atterbury Papers.

what you propose in relation to the farm, but to whatever else you think fit to be done there, or in any other part of my little fortune, in which you and your children are more concerned than I am, for I have but a few years in it. I hope you and they will have many, and leave it to those that shall come after them. My chief concern in this world is to fix that matter to my mind according to the strict forms of law, which cannot be done without my drawing nearer to you, nor that without a place fixed on to my mind, wherein I may spend the rest of my life, with so much health and pleasure as belong to my constitution and circumstances. Those I have employed have not hitherto found me any such, and the hot weather is now beginning here; so that I must, I fear, stay where I am till autumn, which grieves me, especially considering the state of Mrs. Morice's health, which, I am satisfied, would soon mend in France, and that that air would do her more good than twenty physicians. But I am at a loss, at this distance, to compass what I aim at; and am afraid, after all, that I shall be forced to come to lodgings in Paris for a while, in order to provide myself of a proper place, nearer you, to retire to. Here, I thank God, my health sensibly and almost daily mends; so that I hope to leave this place in autumn in a very different state from that in which I came hither, and better than you have known me these many years. But what signifies it how the few years that are left me drag on? It is of moment how it fares with poor Mrs. Morice, who has many (I hope) to come. Give her my blessing, and say the kindest things from me you can to her, and I will be sure to make them good.

I wrote to you on the 17th, and should be glad to know that the letter came to hand, and to have your answer. You have received the French Miltons, I suppose, from the author. The work will have an odd look on your side of the water; but here nothing is more common than the translating foreign epic poems into French prose. I hear this performance is relished at Paris more than I imagined it would be; the sublime manner in which the original is written being somewhat that they are entirely unacquainted with. I doubted a little of its standing the first shock of their taste; but, since it has done so, I have no doubt of its rising higher in their esteem, the more they consider it. It is not a poem, like one of theirs, that loses upon repeated

reading; nor consequently at all like Mr. Ramsay's first edition of Cyrus. I wish him better luck with his second.

I am glad the knives and glass arms are upon the way; they will be very welcome to my landlord. I shall want no return till September; then, if you please, remit to Mr. Waters one or two hundred pounds, according as you find yourself in cash.

Adieu, dear Mr. Morice! God bless you and yours! and me with so much health and good luck as to be able to approach your parts, and by that means finish what I intend for your service.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{May 23,}}{\text{June 3,}}$ 1729.

My dear Heart,

After I had written to Mr. Morice by the last post, I had an account of a house in the neighbourhood of Paris, well situated as to air, distance, and other conveniences, and ready furnished. Since my proposal of finding somewhat upon the coast, that might shorten the trouble of your coming to me, has hitherto failed, I am willing to accept this offer, provided upon enquiry it appears to be such an one as will every way answer my expectation. I have sent my queries to the gentleman who has pitched upon it for me, and who is of your acquaintance; and have desired him to forward an account of the whole to you. The house will not be ready to receive us till the 8th of July; but a lady, who has a good house in the same village, and who is also of your acquaintance, will lend it us till we can get into the other, she having a house at Paris, where she at present lives. My fear is that the heat of the weather will not suffer you, with a due regard to your health, to travel till towards September.

This letter I reckon will reach you about the 16th of this month, when you will have been in your asses' milk four or five weeks. The preparations necessary to be made by Mr. Morice and you for the journey afterwards will cost you a fortnight; so that you cannot well propose to set out till some time in July; and the weather will then be so hot that I cannot think it fit you should set out in it. Your health is too tender to be risked.

* Atterbury Papers.

Should the season prove cooler than I expect it will, and should you determine to move out of hand, let me know your mind without loss of time; and as soon as I receive notice of your resolutions, I will send Osbaldeston from hence to meet you at Paris, and he, together with his wife, who is now there, will take care of everything before your coming, and after your arrival. Perhaps also I may by him send down your chaise to meet you at Calais. I will meet you at Paris, after I have an account of your motions, as soon as I can possibly; and will endeavour to make the journey by night, and lie by all the days. This upon a supposition that you come so soon; but if you defer your coming till the end of August, or beginning of September, I will defer mine also; for as I come merely to have the satisfaction of your company, and to contribute to the restoring of your health, so I desire not to be at Paris any time before you, and then only to pass through it to Vitry, which is the name of the village wherein I intend to reside. The house, according to the account sent me, is every way proper, if it be as fit a place for the winter as the summer, in respect to cold or dampness, to which the situation may be exposed. I have sent to be satisfied on that article, and have desired the gentleman to satisfy you also; for if it be only a house fit for warm weather, it will not be for my purpose, who, for more reasons than one, must continue the whole year wherever I fix.

I hope in God this letter will find you better. I shall impatiently expect your answer. God bless you all! Adieu, my dear Heart!

F. R.*

Mr. Sempill (with whom the reader will become better acquainted in the next chapter) wrote to Mrs. Morice a most enticing account of the house that had been selected. Among its attractions were "a good garden, equally contrived for pleasure and profit; a dove-house, well stored with fine pigeons; a fish-pond, full of good carp and tench; a pleasant gallery; a charming grotto, very curiously adorned." It was

* Atterbury Papers.

situated at Vitry, and had been tenanted by Lord Galway. The good news revived all the energies of the invalid, and a sign manual was applied for to the Duke of Newcastle for themselves and three servants; they then hurried their preparations for departure.

While thus busily engaged came a letter from one of the Bishop's attendants, announcing an alarming attack of his old disease. This created a terrible excitement, which was partly allayed by the receipt of the following letters:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{June 20}}{\text{July 1}}$, 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

You will probably have accounts from Paris of my ill state of health, and such as may represent me much worse than I am; therefore I think fit to dictate this letter, which will inform you of the truth. Upon the use of milk in an unskilful manner I have had a fever, and a fit of the gout attending it, which have been pretty violent; but both, I thank God, are much abated, so that I hope soon to be entirely free from them. In the mean time I send this to tell you that my resolution stands of setting out from this place the beginning of your (not our) September, so as to arrive at Vitry, where I have taken a house, about or a little before Michaelmas. If, therefore, you and Mrs. Morice are so charitable as to make a visit, you will order your motions so as to be there about that time, when the weather will be perfectly fit for travelling. If you come anything sooner, you will give notice to the gentleman who has written to you about it, who will take care that the house shall be clean for you accordingly, and will order matters so perhaps as to conduct you thither himself; and I, if I am acquainted exactly with your motions, will order matters so as to have Osbaldeston and his wife to attend you, and perhaps to send you your chaise to meet you at Calais.

No more need be said now but that I have received your and Mrs. Morice's letters, and thank you both for them, but am not able as yet to answer them myself; however, I will write a line

to Mrs. Morice in my own hand, which will assure her better of the real state of my health than anything I can say by the hand of another. Both of you will believe me ever, in the most tender manner, mindful of you.

To Mrs. Morice.

My dear Heart, the gout is still in my right hand; nevertheless I make a shift to use it so far as to tell you that I am recovering apace. I trust in God that you also are so, and that the air of Vitry will finish what that of Kensington has begun. God bless you! I long to see you. F. R.*

The harassing anxiety which Mrs. Morice had endured for several months had done its work upon her feeble constitution. The able physician who attended her pronounced an authoritative opinion that the climate of the neighbourhood of Paris was not fit for her in her present very delicate state, and recommended that of the South of France. The Bishop was recovering from one of the most serious attacks he had had for many years, though he had been constantly announcing improvement in his health. He gave way at once, altered his arrangements, and despatched new directions.

Bishop Atterbury to Mr. Morice.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{June 22}}{\text{July 3}}$, 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

Since the case is so, and Doctor Wyntle, who knows Vitry and Montpelier so well, is positively of opinion that Mrs. Morice's health is concerned in her coming hither, I yield, though with some reluctance, and have accordingly written to Paris by this post, that I will think no more of coming thither till spring, but will wait your arrival here; and, in the meantime, will, as soon as I am able, retire to the mountains, to avoid the excessive heats of this place, and there wait the notice of your motions. Such a long journey by land will not only be very expensive,

* Atterbury Papers.

but subject to great hazards; and, therefore, tender as I am of Mrs. Morice, I wish she could determine herself to come directly by sea to Bordeaux, from whence the journey hither is, as you are told, very easy; if you set out by the end of your August, you will in all probability have calm weather and a good passage, and should she be a little sea-sick, that will do her no harm in the event. In the meantime, the conveniences of that sort of passage, and the ease of it, in other respects, will make her amends for the trouble she may expect to find. I would not consent to this if I did not think it upon the whole, all things considered, to be best; nevertheless, that must be left to her and your choice. She will find, where I am, all conveniences, and the people of the house very agreeable to her. God send you both a prosperous passage! I have been much worse than I owned; so ill that I scarce expected to recover, but, I thank God, all danger is now over, and I am upon the mending hand, though as yet I have no writing hand, and am forced, therefore, to use that of another. God bless you both, and all your little ones, and send us once more a happy meeting! Whatever they shall write you farther from Paris about Vitry, mind it not, as neither will I, this being my last and fixed determination.

Adieu, dear Mr. Morice! and let me know your motions as early as you can, writing directly hither; and wherever I am in the neighbouring mountains, your letter will find me. Again I bid you both most tenderly adieu! I have several reasons to wish that Paris may be avoided in your passage hither. My next I hope will be in my own hand.*

No intelligence could have been half so agreeable to the loving invalid, and she urged forward her preparations. The Duke of Newcastle, with the authority of Queen Caroline, Regent of the kingdom, in the absence of George II., on a visit to his continental dominions, had signed the required authority for the travellers, though it had not yet been forwarded from his office, not having been counter-signed. In the

* Atterbury Papers.

meantime Mrs. Morice despatched a short note, while waiting to fulfil an invitation from the kind Duchess.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Dear Papa, Monday, July 7/18, 1729.

I have no more time than just to thank you for the four lines under your own hand, without which I should have been extremely uneasy; and am now greatly impatient for the next letters to satisfy me of your being perfectly recovered. I designed you a long letter to-day, but must defer it, since my Park neighbour has sent to engage me to take an airing by water as far as Greenwich, and I do not know how to refuse any invitation that comes from her; but I shall take no pleasure in anything, whilst the apprehension of your being ill sticks upon my mind. God send the first letters may remove it.

I am ever, dear papa, &c.*

The Bishop had found the hot season at Montpelier too much for him, and had retreated to the cooler atmosphere of the mountains. He announced this temporary change of residence to his daughter.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

My dear Heart, Montpelier, July 10, 1729.

The post before last, I wrote to Mr. Morice, and can now tell you that this evening I set out from hence, for the mountains at some distance, in order to remain there during the heats, and till I have notice of your being so near Montpelier, that I may have just time to return thither before your arrival. You will find both the house where I am, and the people of it, much to your mind, and I must beg you, therefore, to bring with you some of the good things of England, that will be welcome here, of which I will give you a particular at the end of this letter, not insisting at all upon your exact compliance with what I ask, if anything better occurs to you, for I would fain have wherewithal to pass our winter here a little *à la Anglaise*, and also to

* Atterbury Papers.

oblige my hosts, who have been extremely obliging to me, and will likewise be so to you, to all degrees.

I load you with this luggage upon a supposition of your coming by sea to Bordeaux, in which case the conveyance of these things will be without much trouble, expense, or hazard of their being spoilt on the journey. My tenderness for you would not allow me to think of such a long passage by sea, if I were not convinced that there was less danger and trouble in it, at this calm season of the year, than in your crossing France by land, and being subject to the inconveniences of such a long journey. From Bordeaux hither is a carpet way, and the note enclosed will show you that good care will be taken of you both at Bordeaux and at Toulouse, which is in the midway hither, and then all your luggage may come from England to Montpelier entirely by water, by the means of the canal of Languedoc.

Mr. Morice may buy, at Bordeaux, a chaise for me, which will be of service to me afterwards, when he uses his own upon the leaving of this place, and in that chaise you and Mr. Morice may come hither, which is not above five or six days' journey. I never entertained a thought of your coming thus far till Dr. Wyntle's opinion of the necessity of your wintering here, in order to the recovery of your health—a consideration of all others most prevalent—determined me.

I find the gentleman [Sempill] who writ to Mr. Morice has had an answer from him, and is still not out of all hopes of prevailing in respect to Vitry, but, as I said, I am fixed, and desire you to mind nothing that comes from that quarter.

I pray God this may find you in a condition to pursue your journey, and shall have the greatest satisfaction I can have in this world, when I find you safely arrived here. God bless you, Mr. Morice, and yours! Don't be concerned that I use another hand in writing to you, for though I have not yet the free use of my own, I am, I thank God! much advanced in my recovery.

Adieu, my dear Heart! and if I express little of my concern for you, believe the reason of it to be that it is impossible for me to put into words the degree of tenderness I feel, whenever I think of you.—Fr. Roffen.*

This definitive arrangement proved most satisfactory

* Nichols. Epist. Corr., &c., IV., 249.

to the invalid, heart-sick from hope deferred; and in a state of the highest pleasurable excitement she hastened her arrangements for departure. Her joy was excessive at the idea that the long-desired visit to the health-restoring Montpelier might now be accomplished. Equally intense was her gratification at the granting of her prayer for a speedy reunion with her revered parent, and extraordinary the care she took to supply all his wants and satisfy all his desires. There was a list of delicacies that accompanied his last welcome letter, intended quite as much for the enjoyment of his guests as for his own. This she conned over lovingly, and then hastened with it to the principal tradesmen. These were remembered as commonplace necessaries at the Deanery and at the episcopal mansion, but to the exile they must have become luxuries only attainable through her assistance. The more important were Banbury and Wiltshire cheeses, neat's tongues, pickled salmon, potted char, pickled cucumbers, and Yorkshire or Nottingham ale. There was also milk-water, a beverage the Bishop used for the gout—most probably not unlike what has more recently been furnished by the London dairies. Florence oil was another requirement, no palatable olive oil being then procurable in Languedoc.

While thus employed, she wrote announcing her coming. The monument the writer mentions was that already described as designed for Dr. Chamberlen.

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, $\frac{\text{July } 21}{\text{August } 1}$, 1729.

Dear Papa,

The uneasiness I have been under on account of your ill-

ness is somewhat abated, but not yet quite over. I must see a letter under your own hand before I can get entirely rid of my fears. Good news by to-morrow's letters will, I hope, put an end to them.

I am now very busy in preparing for our journey to you. Mr. Morice had some thoughts of going by sea up the Mediterranean; but, upon better reflection, that design is laid aside. We are now looking out for a ship to Bourdeaux, and hope to find one. I am willing to undertake that voyage, since you advise it, and have taken such care to pave the way for us from thence to Montpelier. If we come that way we shall bring with us the several things you write for. If we cannot procure a ship, as we propose, so as to leave Westminster about the middle of August, we must content ourselves with the old road to Calais, and undergo the inconveniences of so long a land journey. The 15th of next month is the latest day pitched upon for our setting out, if by land; fully designing to be with you before Michaelmas by such slow stages as I must make in regard to my indifferent state of health. Mr. Morice has sent you word I shall bring with me another servant besides Jameson. I do not do it by choice, but of necessity; being desirous to create as little trouble wherever I go as is possible, and she that comes with me will cause none.

Enclosed I send you the draught of a monument designed to be erected in Westminster Abbey: it is in memory of one who was an old acquaintance of yours, so I guess you may be pleased at seeing it.—I am, &c.

P.S.—We have just now news of a vessel that sails well, and of about 100 tons: we are almost agreed to hire it. Mr. Morice wishes a man-servant could be provided against our landing at Bourdeaux, to go with us from thence to Montpelier, for he brings no man-servant with him.*

The Bishop wrote to her husband from his mountain retreat on the same day:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Vigan, in the Cevennes, July ¼, 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I have been here these ten days to avoid the excessive

* Atterbury Papers.

heats of Montpelier, and have found my health improve, and the ill symptoms of that fit of the gout, from which I am not yet altogether free, sensibly abate since I came hither, so that I hope to meet Mrs. Morice and you in full health at Montpelier in September, whither I intend not to stir till I hear of your motions, and so as to be on the spot when you arrive. I perceive by yours of June $\frac{12}{23}$ that you have changed your mind as to the sea passage; and yet, if you could depend on a ship, I am satisfied there is less trouble and less hazard (as well as less expense) in the voyage than the journey, beside the convenience of bringing with you those things I wrote for, which, if you come by land, must be left behind. But, as I have yielded to Mrs. Morice's desire of coming hither, instead of meeting her near Paris (which I had much rather have done), so I am perfectly willing she should take that way of travelling which best pleases her; and therefore shall add nothing further on that head beside my wishes that the journey may be every way safe, agreeable, and healthy to you both, that the pleasure of our meeting may be lessened by no ill accidents on the way, and that she may find a part of the benefit from the motion itself, which she expects to be completed by her continuance at Montpelier during the winter.

I have nothing more to say but to thank you for the bill of 4,360 livres; and to desire you to dispatch hither the knives and glass arms as soon as ever you can: they are much expected by the person for whom they are designed, and I cannot say you will be thoroughly welcome to him without them.

No more but love and blessing to Mrs. Morice, to you, and all yours! I write this according to the date; and know not how soon, or how late, I may have an opportunity of forwarding it. Adieu, dear Mr. Morice!

Pay Mrs. Salkeld ten pounds, and place it to my account.

F. R.*

During the ex-Minister's retirement into the Cevennes, his communications with "the King" were not entirely suspended. James knew the value of the Bishop's counsel, though he had surrendered himself

* Atterbury Papers.

to influences that prevented his reaping the advantage he might have received from it; and Atterbury, though he had withdrawn from the administration of his affairs, could not withhold assistance when it was required. Their communications were necessarily kept secret. Judging from the following, the correspondence with Rome was perfectly harmless:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE REV. MR. WILLIAMS, AT ROME.

Vigan, in the Cevennes, August $\frac{4}{15}$, 1729.

Sir,

I thank you for yours of July 14th, though it gave me the unwelcome account of your fall on the road and the death of your father. I hope some good news will make you soon amends for these two instances of ill fortune. You are, I find, in a place that will divert and employ you; but have a care of the sellers of medals there, who I have heard are great sharpers. I am glad Mr. Stewart applies his mind to antiquities: it is an instructive amusement that becomes his quality. My most humble services to him.

My daughter and her husband are not yet with me; nor do I expect them till the middle of September, when I shall exchange this place for Montpelier, in order to meet them at their arrival, and spend the winter with them there: for I stay there till spring, not so much on my own account as poor Mrs. Morice's, whose ill state of health requires it.

The promotion of the Barigello's brother-in-law is somewhat out of the way. But it is not your and my business even to wish those preferments were better disposed of. He [the Pope] that gives them you know cannot be in the wrong; at least on your side of the mountains. Your visit to Loretto to see the flying house, now enshrined in a Chapel, was worthy of your curiosity. But you say not a word of St. Peter's, which, as far as I can judge, is worth all the other sights that Italy affords: it is the only one in the world that I have ever had a desire to see; for you know how negligent I have been of everything of that kind which France affords. I do not understand you well as to Sir J., or the sort of saintship he has a mind to bestow on his

daughter. When Mr. Forster is come back from his Tuscan visit, my humble service to him; and congratulations with Sir W. on the account of his escape. Without ink or paper, you see, I make a shift to tell you how much I am yours,

FRA. ROFFEN.

Pray make my kind compliments to Mr. Arthur and Mr. Murray.*

* Atterbury Papers.

CHAPTER XIII.

WALPOLE'S SPY.

The Son of a Scottish Peer apparently engaged to report the Proceedings of Atterbury to Horatio Walpole—Abuse of Confidence—He demands Money from the Ambassador—States what is said and done about the Pretender—His treacherous Conduct to Atterbury—Again begs Money of Walpole—The Bishop's Suspicions excited—The Spy excluded from Conferences—Mr. Morice among the Scotch and Irish Jacobites—Attempts of the Spy to extort Information from the Bishop—Atterbury writes to Sempill from Montpelier—The Spy hired by both Parties—Atterbury evades all Attempts to induce him to write on Confidential Subjects—Colonel Charteris condemned for a Rape—The High Bailiff claims his Property—Sempill's Revelations.

THE spy employed by the Walpoles to betray the Bishop, one authority says, was the son of a Scottish peer, occasionally employed by the Bishop to obtain him information, and assist him as an amanuensis, but never to any considerable extent taken into his confidence. Horace Walpole, senior, was well aware that this young man associated with the leading Jacobites in Paris, and gave bribes to induce him to activity in the infamous profession he had adopted—one very common among the adherents of James. How he exerted himself to obtain this hire, his correspondence with the ambassador more than sufficiently shows.

In his first communication, dated "March 30 to April 3, 1726," he mentions both Lord Sempill and his son,* the former as his informant, the latter as the Bishop's secretary. Archdeacon Coxe, who ought to have been well informed, identifies the spy with the secretary. It is not improbable that both the Sempills were engaged in betraying their friend; but, notwithstanding the passage in the State Trials (which were published when father and son had renounced the Pretender), the presumption is strong that the younger wrote the letters while Walpole was acting as Ambassador from the Court of St. James's. He commences:—

Sir,

I have had a long and private conversation with Lord Sempill upon the present juncture of affairs, and what advantages would occur to the Pretender's interest from them. He seemed satisfied by the dictates, not only of his own reason, but that of *the Bishop* and others, that the Emperor and King of Spain had it in their power to restore him, alleging "that it was the only card they had to play to serve themselves, and that with that they would commence the war; otherwise he did believe the Government of England had it in their power to prevent it. That both the Courts of Vienna and Madrid seem to be of the same opinion, and made no doubt but they have taken their measures accordingly, though they acted with all the caution and secresy imaginable; not believing that the Chevalier himself knew the plan they were to go upon, which gives him the better opinion of the success of it, as matters stand."

After thus giving apparently verbatim his father's private ideas, he endeavours to enhance the value of

* Hugh, the eleventh Lord Sempill, according to "Burke's Peerage," succeeded his brother in 1716, and had four sons, John, George, who, like himself, was an officer in the English army, and Hugh, and Ralph, who died without issue.

what he reports, by adding:—"Your Excellency will remark, that young Sempill is the Bishop's scribe."

When he had sufficiently drawn attention to this remarkable fact, the spy thus continues his report:—

I told him in answer to this, that I was informed by three several hands—and mentioned Gardner as one—that there was something in agitation respecting the Chevalier. I spake this of myself, *to screw some more lights from him*, and draw him to particulars. To which he replied, "that he was sorry to hear a whisper of the kind, believing it to come from Mar and Dillon's faction, who imagined, by suggestion, that there was, or would be, something undertaken for the Chevalier; and because they were not at the bottom of it, were resolved by talking to put the Government upon its guard, and do their utmost to prevent it," which they have been accustomed to, either with a design, or by indiscretion; and even when the Chevalier's affairs were in their own hands.

Surely this is an illustration of the political pot denouncing the blackness of the political kettle:—

But (says he), so little of the matter as I know, I know Gardner knows nothing; though I am afraid his uncle Morgan scribbles, who is now in Spain with the Duke of Ormonde, who has always had to do with such foolish people (Gardner did say something like it). I would (says he) have you tell the Bishop this paragraph, it being of more consequence than you may imagine; and I desire of you never to speak to any one matters of this kind; and when any one insinuates the like to you, seem to be of another opinion: otherwise if the Chevalier comes to hear it, you will not only lose his favour, but that of the Duke of Ormonde, the Bishop, and all the rest of his friends; and you may be sure (says he) that the Government has their spies in all quarters [so it seemed], who would take the greatest advantage upon such whispers, though groundless perhaps at the bottom.

Having represented Sempill, senior, giving this caution, Sempill, junior, adds:—"He did not imagine

how little I valued them or their favours in my heart."

The reader will presently see what these favours were, and how he appreciated them. The spy then repeats a conversation he held with his father respecting a project for simultaneous military movements—4,000 men in England, 2,000 in Scotland, and a feint upon Ireland, that should make the Pretender master of St. James's Palace in less than six weeks; which having given, with comments, he adds:—

As for the Bishop's credit, it is so much exhausted that he can make none but the poor Duke of Ormonde his tool, though persuaded he has Wharton and some other such talking emissaries and extravagant politicians to propagate his schemes, where he thinks there is the most probability of their succeeding in substance.

After this occur sapient reflections respecting divisions among the Jacobites, and the important discovery:—"I would have your Excellency to be satisfied that neither the Court of Vienna nor Madrid love King George." This is followed by a report of a message sent by Prince Sobieski to his daughter, blaming her for separating herself from her husband, with the assurance, "This makes the favourite not a little proud; and I hope they will keep their footing." At last comes the object of his employment, the report of a private conference with Atterbury:—

I was with the Bishop, who asked me "if the news still continued, that this Court [France] was going to join with the Emperor and leave England in the lurch?" I answered that it did, and with stronger assurances than ever. The people are mad (says he), and they speak whatever comes in their head, there being no more in it than that the current of this river, that runs towards Rouen, is changed towards Lyons; though, I

believe, as I always did, in their hearts they are not inclined to war. You told me, I think (said he), that Lord Mar had seen Lord Orrery, which I have been at pains to know the truth of, and find that Lord Orrery never did, nor would he see him, so that Mar lies, if he sustains the contrary; for I have it under Lord Orrery's hand.

Such a conversation could only have passed between the Bishop and his "scribe." He goes on to repeat other alleged observations of Atterbury's, respecting a Mons. Dester and the Abbé Gerardin; then reports:—

I find the Bishop and General Ruth are constantly together, and more of late than ever; and your Excellency will remark that he was Lord Orrery's favourite also, and is a great man with Mons. de Torcy. I shall let you know more of this.

Now comes the acknowledgment of the sort of key that has unlocked these secrets:—

I am ashamed to tell you that I, by necessity, have been extorted to draw *another* £25 bill, by the name of Williams, upon your Excellency, which *for the last time* I most humbly beg your goodness to pay; and you may be assured that I shall omit no opportunity to *deserve it and the other favours* I have received from you. I beg you also to consider that money is very low here, and all necessaries of life extravagantly dear.

Honesty, for instance, one of the greatest necessaries of social existence, was scarcely to be had at any cost; but the Sempills had found it considerably to their advantage to do without it. One of them had had much pecuniary encouragement; and notwithstanding his statement as to the last time he should want it, he resumed his work, in the fullest conviction that he should also resume his hire.

On the 29th he commenced a long despatch, which he forwarded to the Minister in London, in which he betrays his knowledge that Carte was writing a treasonable pamphlet for circulation in England, and reports a conversation between the two O'Briens as to the probability of the Duke of Argyle and Sir Robert Walpole being made shorter by a head; then gives intelligence of a conference at Rome between Cardinal Alberoni and the Pretender, which he says he had repeated to the Bishop.

"He answered," says the spy,—

That he had been told Alberoni was to see the Chevalier, but upon what account could not tell, and then asked me about the Marquis de Malbois' journey to the Duke of Bavaria's Court with a secret commission from Monsieur le Duc. I answered that the Mareschal le Seager's page had told me that Mons. Malbois departed the 1st inst., to condole the Duke of Bavaria on the death of his father in the name of that Court.

[He added, to keep up the mystification respecting himself]—

The reason why he talked to me of Malbois' affair proceeds from my telling Sempill of it, who, I suppose, told him. "Condole? Console, you mean," says he, "with the views of Empire and—" after some pause "and all to strengthen the Treaty of Hanover!" This he spoke with a sneer, which to me appeared by the ambiguity of his words that he fancied he was at the bottom of Malbois' errand. I answered, "that those secret negotiations looked much like war, though I have heard men of consideration *dispute* the contrary." What did he mean? "Those must be Whigs," says he, "knowing that they cannot think but of peace, yet at the same time talk of bombarding the world by sea, and parting it to whom they please by land without opposition, which is a mighty undertaking."

Such reports were written to show on what extremely confidential terms the writer was with the

person for whose secrets he was to be paid. He next communicates a good many hearsays respecting different persons in Paris and Madrid, one beginning: "I met Lord Sempill and his son this evening, who assured me that the Duke of Wharton met Lords North and Orrery at Brussels, who gave him full instructions how to act, and that he passed here in his way to Madrid to confer with the Bishop by their directions." Presently he says that he was again with the two Sempills, and had more talk about the Duke of Wharton and the Bishop, and Lord Orrery: he does not believe there is a good understanding between them, nevertheless suspects them of mischief, which by "a strict watch and circumspection" he promises to find out. In a P.S., May 1, he reports that the Bishop, having dined at *eleven*, went out at one to meet somebody in the Bois de Boulogne, "and it is observed that those of Mar's creatures that would not visit him now throng upon him in numbers, which shows that they have hopes of being employed, and that there is something in agitation; he adds that Sir Tobit Burke and Sir Peter Redmond have been frequently with him of late."

On the 20th of September of the same year, he reports that he was with the Bishop the preceding day, whom he found very busy writing; nevertheless he stopped his occupation for a conference with him on the proceedings of the Court of Russia, the travels of the Pretender, and the understanding between the Bishop of Frejus and the English Ambassador. "After this he took me by the hand, and told me that I should find he was not neglectful of my inte-

rests, and that a very little time would convince me of it; so desired I would not be uneasy."

The treacherous scoundrel, having related these marks of his employer's regard, states that he shortly afterwards met Mr. Williams, the Roman Catholic priest, who assured him that the Bishop was about to contribute to his honour and interest, but would not say in what manner. Sempill expressed his opinion that he was going to be sent to Russia.

The fellow had another report ready on the 10th of November, in which he endeavours to impress upon the ambassador his conviction that Cardinal de Fleury is secretly in the interest of the Pretender. "For God's sake, know him!" he writes; then adds—"Williams is sent by the Bishop to Sir Harry, which looks as if they were preparing all their matters to be in readiness: so, for God's sake, look sharp and find out the bottom of their projects, for I am sure they have some." [Considering that he was so deep in the Bishop's confidence, it is singular that he should be ignorant of what was then going on.] "I will do what I can, but cannot do more than I can" [an unnecessary confession]; "though believe *my sincerity*, and that I shall always be attached to your brother and you, their wish being your downfall, believing by it King George would not be of long standing."

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Pretender had one in his party like him, he might go home without running the least risk."

Having administered this dexterous piece of flattery, he announces that he has been sent for by the Bishop, promising a revelation the next day. Then the motive of his prodigious zeal and flattery betrays itself:—

I hope your Excellency will be so good as to pay the bill I took the liberty to draw upon you, otherwise I shall be drove to great difficulty, as much in regard to the matters I am concerned in with your Excellency as anything whatever, so that I beg of your goodness to favour me once more with paying this bill.

You shall have *a long letter* from me on Tuesday.

Artful as Sempill was in concealing his communications with the English Ambassador, he seems to have already excited some suspicion, and Mr. Williams impressed on him the necessity of being faithful to his kind and liberal patron. He preferred having two paymasters to one, and continued his treacherous reports: every movement of the Bishop was made known, as well as every word he or his associates said respecting him. He announced the dismissal of O'Brien in favour of Sir Tobit Burke, whom he stigmatizes as "a damned cunning fellow, *who can do no harm!*" After this he states something he has learned from Mr. Williams respecting a congress. The rev. gentleman then exhorted him against having confidants, and desired him to consider the Bishop his best friend: then the spy makes this suggestive addition:—

I told him that I was satisfied the Bishop stopped *the secretary's* mouth from talking to us more. "It is very true," says

he; "I know he did, and acted a very wise part in so doing; for if people in England concerned in the thing should come to know the secretary babbled to us, it would deter them from entering further into it. You do not know how that matter lies; and you will do well never to speak of it more to the Bishop, *or any one else.*"

He does not state that he winced at the last words, but proceeds to report whatever his companion chose to communicate respecting affairs of consequence. The good priest had not said all he wished to say on one particular point, for a little further on the report continues:—

Williams and I went to take our bottle as usual, where he gave me a lecture to stand by the Bishop, preferable to any other consideration in life, otherwise I should find myself surrounded with difficulties. This he spoke in such ambiguous terms that I was at a loss to conceive what he was driving at, until he explained himself by desiring I would only attach myself to the Bishop. I seemed angry he should think I would ever act on the contrary, and *assured him I would not*, which gave satisfaction, and we parted good friends.

The intense rascality of the fellow is further displayed in a sentence with which he concludes:—

This is all I have to inform your Excellency of this post, except begging the liberty to tell you that they seem fraught with hopes you have involved yourself in difficulties you cannot surpass (?), the consequence of which will be the Pretender's restoration, and King George and your brother's destruction, which I hope God will avert and protect you as he has done hitherto, though I could wish, as I have all along, you could make up matters without coming to blows, which is the only thing your enemies wish, and the only thing you are to avoid. Depend upon *my sincerity* in this, for I see how matters go. I have played my part hitherto, though I ran through many, many difficulties in order to serve you; and I think to distract the councils of your enemies is the best part that any friend can act at this time. God direct you for the best, and believe I shall

always be ambitious to prove myself, with all attachment, duty, gratitude, and respect, &c. &c.

On the 1st of January, 1726–7, there is another despatch from the same hand, in which he reports mysterious visits to the Bishop, and his exclusion from all knowledge of the visitor—a pretty certain proof that he had become distrusted. There is more talk of invasion, with increased numbers.

On the 8th of August, the spy reports that the Bishop had become sullen and thoughtful, the better to conceal what he is about. It is now affirmed that his son-in-law is taking an active interest in the affairs of the Pretender; then, having stated that the Bishop had been engaged all night writing, the writer hopes that "your Excellency will order it so that care will be taken in London of such packets." He greatly admires His Majesty's prudence in not changing his father's Ministers.

On the 19th of October, after noticing the Bishop's indisposition, Sempill says of a state paper attributed to Cardinal de Fleury respecting the Pretender, Morice had told him that "Mareschal D'Uxelles affirmed when he read it, that it must have been drawn up by the Bishop, whom he acknowledged to be one of the greatest men the Pretender had ever employed." In this letter there is an account of Mr. Morice's position amongst the Jacobites, that may afford the reader amusement:—

Mr. Sempill supped with Sir Redmond Everard and Lochiel, and when we grew mellow with wine, politics ran high. The Knight inclined to favour the character of Lord Mar and Phillips, and said "that it was not a good way to serve the Pre-

tender to run down men that he knew to be in his interest;" in answer to which Morice mentioned particulars to prove the contrary, and wondered that Sir Redmond, who was a relation to the Duke of Ormonde, should attempt the vindication of Mar, his greatest enemy, and made it appear that it was Mar whom the Bishop owes his exile to, to which end Colonel Churchill was sent over, whose letters to Mar were found amongst his papers, and are now to be seen.

It would be tedious to relate all that passed of this kind, but in the end the knight grew silent, and the Highland laird to faulter; but what was more comic than all the rest, when Sir Redmond would retire, the other would be cautioning Morice against all the Irish in general, and when Lochiel would be absent, the knight against the Scotch in the same manner, by which your Excellency will perceive the harmony that reigns amongst them.

After this the informer enters again upon the intentions of Spain and of Russia; of the latter affirming that the Bishop and all his party begin to lose all hope of assistance. He sometimes artfully put questions to draw from Atterbury observations worth repeating, but was not always successful.

I talked with the Bishop the other evening that it was whispered your brother would be hardly attacked this Parliament, there being many of his enemies elected—to which he answered that it was a wrong notion, for that his party was stronger than ever, and that His Majesty knew his interest too well to encourage anything of that kind, while you and he stood so well as you do at this court.

More is reported of the Bishop's ideas respecting Jacobites, true and false.

On November 2nd, 1727, the report is chiefly respecting the Bishop's reflections upon the probability of the Pretender being forced to leave Avignon, and the informer betrays the channel by which the former maintains communications with England. Of the Pretender's agents in Paris he says:—

O'Brien is very still, and the whole party seem to gaze at each other without seeming to know of anything that is training to keep up their spirits, unless the bottle, which they take in so plentiful a manner that a company seldom parts without a quarrel.

He tried his dangerous questions again, but was again foiled:—

I have touched to the Bishop more than once the possibility of the King of Spain sending 10,000 men to England, but observe he only gives me a hearing, and then flies from the subject.

On the 16th, Mr. Sempill reported to the Ambassador the Bishop's secret thoughts respecting the intentions of Spain, the separation of the Princess Sobieski from her husband, and the probability of Walpole's retaining his influence with his new sovereign. The last gives the fellow an opportunity of representing the Bishop as being "galled to the soul." He announces that O'Brien is about to start on a mission to Avignon, with the object of proceeding thence to Spain, where an invasion was in agitation. Having thus suggested that there was something going on worth knowing, he gave a strong hint to his correspondent that it must be considered worth paying for. "I am very poor, so I hope your Excellency will not let me want."

The appeal was responded to as so many had been before, and the informer went on with his wretched work, doing his best to earn his dirty wages; for when he had little to report he had always something to invent, that did just as well as facts. Walpole's spy the Bishop left behind him in Paris; but his occupation was not gone, though the person he was

employed to watch had left him. About the commencement of the year 1728–9 he opened communications with the ex-Minister, with some items of Jacobite information, such as he thought might excite reciprocal confidence. The Bishop replied, but with a caution that avoided the trap laid for him—without, however, betraying any suspicion of his correspondent.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. SEMPILL.

Montpelier, Jan. 31, 1728–9.

Sir,

It is ten days since I had the favour of your letter, which did not find its way hither so soon as it ought to have done. The news you were pleased to send me of Lady North's recovery was very agreeable. It was an addition to the pleasure that I had not heard of her illness till I was assured it was over. My Lord [North and Grey] called upon me here in his passage, and dined with me. He is, I suppose, not attending the Court in its rambles, but fixed in his quarters at Barcelona. I knew nothing of his being in town till I saw him at my lodgings, and was glad to find that when he left Paris he left all his scruples there behind him.

You are satisfied by this time how far your news is true of a division among the Whigs, which I do not apprehend will discover itself much this session in Parliament, or that the opposition made to the Ministers will in any remarkable degree cut up the measures resolved on, which I take it will not be so much upon the bounce as formerly, and yet will seem to be carried on with great steadiness and firmness. It is no wonder the two plenipotentiaries have left none of their secretaries behind them. Poyntz and his secretary will answer all these purposes perfectly well. Our affairs here go on [favourably?] without needing any support. The interests of the two Courts are the same, and France will take care of ours if we happen to neglect them ourselves.

If Mr. Domville be in Paris, be pleased to tell him that I return the civil inquiries as to his health, which you tell me he makes in relation to mine. I will not send him my services in

a post letter for fear of its being intercepted and interpreted into some degree of criminal correspondence.*

The remainder merely refers to the severity of the weather: and the informer, when forwarding it to his employer, could not disguise his disappointment.

Atterbury remained at Montpelier during the winter, a sadder if not a wiser man. He strove to divert his melancholy by literary occupations and correspondence. The spy still continued his treacherous communications. The answers are appended: the first betrays a distinct inclination to shake him off as civilly as possible. It would have been all the better if the Bishop had employed less ceremony and been less communicative, for his letters were at once forwarded to Horace Walpole, with the customary appeals for money.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. SEMPILL.

Montpelier, Feb. 4, 1729-30.

Sir,

I received all your letters, and thank you for all of them; which have of late made me amends for the want of them for some time beforehand. But I consider you have new acquaintances, and other ways of spending your time more agreeably and more usefully than in writing letters to a man so distant and so useless as I am. I will take the first proper occasion I can to mention you to the Duke of Ormonde, though I had rather the occasion were given me than that I should take it. What I say would in probability have the greater effect.

I suppose by the time this reaches you you will have heard that the Stocks are risen, upon the speech and addresses of Tuesday last? I doubt not that they will all of them express the utmost firmness in the points insisted on by Spain, and which are never to be gained but by an open rupture. Is it not bar-

* Nichols. Miscellaneous Works, &c., V., 130.

barous in the good Lord Mar's friends on the other side, to keep him here drinking Burgundy, when he so earnestly desires to go over, and can do them so little good by remaining here? And yet I think he will hardly go but in company, and not be distinguished by any favour in that respect.

This looks very like a covert conviction of the writer, that his lordship's real business at Montpelier would cease when he (the Bishop) should quit it. In the next sentence he refers to Lord Lansdowne.

I am sorry for what you tell me of another person. I did not think him capable of acting so low a part. Is it true that he has written a play lately? I do not mean the Duke of Wharton, whom I think of in another manner, wishing him everything in this world that may do him real pleasure and service.*

The scoundrel, who was taking money from both parties for betraying their secrets, while transmitting the preceding to the English ambassador at Paris, wrote (March 15):—

The enclosed comes from the Bishop, which I think proper to forward, though it imports no great matter, more than an account how he has recommended me to the Duke of Ormonde, who I am persuaded will condescend to what the other requests. However, I pray your Excellency to believe *I thought to be happy under the honour of your protection*, and never be obliged to return to them again; but as I apprehend a disappointment in one view, I must think of making myself easy in another, though I shall ever retain my gratitude for you and yours, and be ambitious on all occasions to give proofs of it, as also of my zeal for His Majesty's interest, and attachment to the royal family.

Then comes the inevitable reminder that the labourer was worthy of his hire:—

I will not trouble you with a repetition of my last, only pray your Excellency to take my case into consideration, and if you

* Nichols. Miscellaneous Works, V., 149.

judge me proper to serve you, you will also think it proper *to support me.* I expect the honour of your answer; otherwise I must retire from Paris immediately, and seek out a new retreat, *less expensive*, and perhaps more to *my honour* and satisfaction.

The rascal was then in the receipt of a pension from the Bishop; but to strengthen the appeal, he now enters upon a long detail of confidential news from Rome, intended to show his perfect knowledge of the Pretender's secrets. Among other items of intelligence, he asserts that James is about to send his son Charles Edward to Lorraine, with the Duke of Ormonde as his governor; but acknowledges that while Murray remains in favour, neither the Duke nor the Bishop "will have anything to do with the Pretender's affairs." He goes on, as usual, at great length with his revelations, apparently betraying every distinguished Jacobite in turn. At last he returns to the pecuniary point:—

If your Excellency does not think proper to honour me with your answer and *relief*, I certainly must retire from Paris in a few days, when I shall no more have it in my power to serve you further than wishes.*

Some idea of the extent of the treachery of this fellow may be gathered from the ex-Minister's next communication:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. SEMPILL.

Montpelier, Feb. 21, 1729–30.

Sir,

I have yours, and thank you for both; being well pleased not to have known anything of your indisposition till you were relieved of it. [As imaginary as the bulk of his revelations.] As to what you write about Lorraine, I know not what your aim

* Nichols. Miscellanous Works, &c., V., 355, 9.

in that case is. I desired to be recommended to the Duke of Lorraine; and whatever it is it may keep cold till we meet at Paris, when, after learning more particularly your intention, I shall tell you my judgment freely in the matter, and assist you in whatever is thought practicable to the best of my power. But at present I think it will be to no purpose to enter further into that matter. You are in the right in thinking that you may speak your mind freely and safely to me on any head; but as to your conjecture about Colonel O'Brien's writing about the affair of Sir T. B., it might be so, but in my conscience there was no need of it, in order to bring that affair to the King's ear, it being sufficiently known at Rome and discoursed of.

It appears that the spy, aware of the Bishop's feelings against O'Brien, had endeavoured to play upon them by stating that he had been blabbing about a scandal respecting James and a daughter of Sir Tobit Burke. The Bishop dexterously evades the trap laid for him, which he continues to do in the rest of his letter, by expressing opinions contrary to what were required. He desires information respecting proceedings in England, and concludes with announcing his intention of coming to Paris. His correspondent craftily plied him with letters, and he again replied.

The intention to elicit matter for which the fellow might get well paid by Walpole, is again evident in the character of the subjects touched upon.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. SEMPILL.

Sir, Montpelier, March 2, 1729–30.

I have both yours, of February 18th and 23rd, which arrived since I wrote to you on the 21st. I thank you for your letters, and desire you to continue them frequently for the little time I am to stay here, from whence you know I can have but little to say worth imparting; and therefore if you do not hear from me you will impute it to my unwillingness to put you to the expense of a letter of mere civility, and will not on that

account desist from writing to me. I wonder what Mr. Salkeld means by saying he had sent me "The Hue and Cry after Mr. Walpole." I have neither received that, nor any letter since January 13 from him, and hope from thence that he is hard at work for himself, and better employed than in writing to me. But of this you will be pleased to take no manner of notice.

Stanhope's ruffle with the ministry was, I suppose, merely on his own private account. He wants to have his expenses made good to him, and thinks his long services abroad deserve some better reward than a title—perhaps the Lieutenancy of Ireland. I am glad what you wrote first of Lord Strafford proves a mistake. I find matters grow every day warmer in England, both within doors and without, notwithstanding this Peace, which was thought sufficient to allay opposition, and shall be glad to know particularly how the debates on the great day passed, which I think was February 16.

Forbes's letter was of the 18th of January, and did not, as appears by yours that enclosed it, come to your hands in a month afterwards. He must therefore have mistaken in dating it, for it could not have stayed so long by the way. [It had probably found its way to the British Embassy.] He tells me that he shall be in Paris the middle of this month. I shall scarce be able to come till the end of April, and then I must go to some hotel, till I can pitch upon some proper house for us; yet none is provided for me. Lord Seaforth, I suppose, comes to bring home his lady and family.

I shall be concerned if so honest a man as Mr. Mist should have any just cause of uneasiness. His sufferings, that were intended to depress and disgrace him, ought to render him, in the eyes of those for whom he suffered, more valuable, and I hope it will prove so, that others may not be discouraged. He will have what he wishes, I believe. This session can hardly pass without an Act of Grace to close it, it being without precedent that a new Prince should meet his Parliament four times without one, especially a Parliament that has been so liberal in the revenue settled upon him.

After some immaterial remarks respecting the gout and the weather, the writer concludes with asking, "What has become of Mr. Carte? When does he

return? Or is he to stay where he is, and follow the example of Lord Lansdowne?"

On the same day, the Bishop's son-in-law forwarded him intelligence of a surprising piece of good fortune that had fallen to him by virtue of his office. The greatest reprobate in England, Colonel Charteris, had been tried and condemned at the Old Bailey for a rape. All his property became the perquisites of the High Bailiff of Westminster—estimated at £20,000 or £30,000, including leasehold houses, worth £400 a year, and twenty-four fine horses, "among which is the finest pad in England, which I shall reserve to bring over with me for your use." *

On the 22nd of the same month, the spy wrote to Horace Walpole a budget of Jacobite news respecting Spain, Russia, and Germany, which he pretends to have gained from Sir Peter Redmond.

He talked much in favour of Bolingbroke, and, indeed, by what he said, and what I learned from the Bishop [he had not mentioned him], he (Bolingbroke) must be at the bottom of all this clamour and disorder [in the House of Commons], and in short you are to regard him as a dangerous man—more in the Pretender's interest than ever—and your Excellency may expect I will give you proofs of it.

As a natural sequence to this important piece of intelligence, the mercenary vagabond adds:—

I, being pressed very much, humbly pray your Excellency to pay £25 which I have drawn, signed Gordon, payable to Hicks. I will acknowledge your goodness while I live; and that in paying that I shall have received £55 from you since you left France, which you will reduct out of what you are pleased to allow me.

* The Colonel contrived to escape the punishment he richly deserved, and by paying a considerable sum to the High Bailiff redeemed his property.

The Walpoles had certainly an agent to be proud of, for it is clear from the next communication that the fellow was receiving favours from the person whose private conversation he had repeated!

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. SEMPILL.

Montpelier, March 15th, 1729-30.

I thank you for yours of March 8th, as likewise for that of February 28th. You are mistaken in the point of the person to whom Lord Clare has lately given a commission. That matter was neither set afloat nor finished by the hand you mention—though that hand also was directed to interpose in it. I am desirous of hearing how the Duke of Wharton's affair ends, and what reflections are made on this last motion to Rome, which may end, perhaps, in making it your place of residence. When I have an answer to any letter written into Spain, I will impart it to you. It was full in your behalf, as you yourself can wish. I mean as to your character; but, as I told you, I went no farther. I have since thanked Sir Peter Redmond in strong terms *for all his kindness to you!* and believe that step will do no harm. I wish I could see the Duke's "Reasons for being a Jacobite," and Wolfe's letter to Walpole, that I may judge of their meaning who think it wise to conceal them. What Court in Europe is that to which it is supposed the Pretender is to be sent?

Presently the writer adds:—"Do not entertain fears about *your pension;* they are groundless."

Nothing came of the ex-Minister's recommendation. The spy did not go to Rome; he probably preferred remaining in a safer locality for dunning his different employers. He was well aware that the Bishop was coming to Paris, and could not be watched so satisfactorily from Rome; therefore he kept where he was.

The snake in the grass now crept on his prey, as he

himself states to Walpole in a letter, February 17th, 1730-1.

"Being sent for by the Bishop, and the post ready to depart, I have just time to inform you," &c. &c. He wrote of secret negotiations between the Courts of Vienna and Seville, and the Duke of Lyria is stated to have forwarded to the Bishop "a large packet"—of course despatches. In the next sentence he writes:—

Inverness is charged to have done something very ill, and *his wife to be a spy for the Government*, and to have a correspondence with Secretary Johnston; and, in short, Murray and all the rest of them will be routed in a little time, which will put the Bishop on the highest pinnacle. I told you in my last it was the Duchess of Buckingham that brought it about. *

It is curious to observe the shifts to which the fellow was obliged to have recourse to conceal his rascality. One of his communications, dated June 7th, affords a remarkable evidence of his treachery; characteristically it begins with an acknowledgment of blood-money, and ends with a prayer for more:—

I received the honour of yours, *and the other marks of your goodness*, which has served to discharge some debts, and furnish me with necessaries. I shall not express my gratitude in words, as I hope to prove it by actions. But Russel† was seen to come to my lodgings, and known by my servant, and I had all the difficulty to form a project to parry the consequence of it, which I did by drawing up a short letter, signed Barbut, which I read in the person's hearing the next day, as if I had received it from him, and that I believe it came by a courier, for I knew nothing of the man that brought it, so that I have nothing now to apprehend from it. However, you will observe the difficulty and danger

* Nichols. Epist. Corres., &c., V., 361.

† Probably Horace Walpole's attaché.

and risk, and as it is to do you service, I hope you will not think it amiss to *supply me.*

After this broad hint, he proceeds to strengthen it by writing a chapter of revelations:—

I saw Mr. P. for a quarter of an hour. However, I told him of Mr. Pezey's* conference with the Bishop by the Cardinal's order, and made him sensible at the same time of the necessity of his keeping it as the greatest secret, for that if it took wind it would certainly be traced to me; and I hope you will think proper not to make any use of it that may hurt me, and change their channel, so that I shall be no more able to give you accounts of their proceedings as at present.

By this sentence the double traitor seems to intimate that Walpole knew that he acted as a pretended spy on him, the more readily to get access to the Bishop's secrets. Of him he now states:—

Pezey has been with the Bishop several times, and couriers pass betwixt them. Lord Sempill is the scribe, and interprets; and Pezey's confidante is my particular friend, and brought about the matter, so that nothing shall pass but you shall have due notice of it; though I assure you that they are come a great length in their negotiation, and Pezey is as hot as the Bishop to attack you, and omits no occasion of spurring the Cardinal to it as a thing for the honour of the King, and to establish his own reputation. And I am told Pezey is to be a Duke and Prince and Marshal of France if it succeeds. In short, the Bishop says, "Pezey is one of the cleverest men he ever knew;" and Pezey says the same of the Bishop, and has not only given him the liberty of the garden of La Mute [Muette], but invited him to a great *repas* there—but the Bishop refused it.

The British Minister at the Court of France must have had a special appetite for plots, and the caterer should enjoy the credit of having set about satisfying

* The Marquis de Pezé.

it with a determination to give him enough. He proceeds to state :—

I shall not trouble you with a detail of the *pro* and *con* of this affair, more than the thing is so; and the Bishop is come at the Cardinal, and acts in concert with the Duke of Berwick (Berwick is at Fitz-James, but that is nothing); and as for Dillon and the Minister of War, they are excluded the grand secret. However, I observe the Bishop affects to conceal it from me as much as possible, and I, on the other hand, show as little curiosity. He says that the Cardinal is a coward, and has no resolution; and that the thought of undertaking anything of the kind (a descent upon England) frightens him; and that he is afraid Pezey will not be able to rout him; but that if the King of Spain will not sign the treaty (and I am afraid from good hands that they have worked with the King of Spain to make it a condition with France), he may be animated to do something. "But," says he, "the Cardinal hates the Walpoles and the Government, and wants nothing but courage to revenge himself; and for the French, in general, they bite their nails to be at you!"

Very strong language for the cautious Bishop to use respecting so respectable an ecclesiastic as Cardinal de Fleury, unless diplomatically. If the Bishop had so expressed himself to the observant Sempill, he presently changed his tone :—

On the three last visits I have made him I perceive he treats his Eminence with softer language and more respect than formerly, and I have all the reason to believe he has had several meetings with him; but let that be as it will, the consequence is the same as if he did, and be assured the Cardinal has told him by Pezey more than six weeks ago, "that the Duke of Ormonde might come here, and that he would be well received at Court" (this Pezey told my friend, and he told me, but the Bishop desired he would keep it a secret to everybody), and I am astonished he is not here already. However, I am told by some that know nothing of the secret that he will be here soon. Except the Bishop has delayed it till matters are ready to be

put in execution, and that his being here before would do no good but alarming you in England.

Having sufficiently roused the Ambassador in this general way, the spy proceeds to more startling particulars :—

In short, you are to apprehend everything that can be imagined or brought about by these people, and to prepare yourself for the worst. 15,000 *men are the number the Bishop demands*, and in case the Cardinal seems slow to grant them, the Chevalier is to whip from Rome and stare him in the face here; and as France now thinks she has no tie or engagement with you, he would not be sent back again; and if he should it would be of service to him, by letting his friends and others see in England the intent of France is only to frighten them with his name to obtain their own views, but never to serve him; so that they may follow Brett's scheme, and think of ways and means to restore him without being obliged to France or any other nation.

This the Bishop tells me (adds this political Munchausen) may be done, but that having 15,000 French would be less hazardous, and that it shall be his advice to the Cardinal to undertake it in such a manner that it should not miscarry, and that he will aid him with all his power to that purport, and not let him be deluded by ignorant politicians to run ahead.

And he gave me to understand that Dillon's projects had no force, and that Berwick was certainly the man that was most in credit. He told me of the Chevalier's being at Naples, and that he was to return to Rome the 2nd July, but I could not learn from him the occasion of his going, but I found his having been there pleased him by his saying, "The world will see he does not apprehend the Emperor so much as imagined, and that the Chevalier's running about at this time will not only make him be more talked of, but conceal when he intends to come off for good," and wagers are laid that he will be in France in less time than three months. This I doubt.

How much the Ambassador was to doubt he does not suggest, but continues his extraordinary statements :—

I was with the Bishop some part of the afternoon; but as there was company, little passed of moment, and about nine I found Mons. Pezey was to be with him, as he told my friend in the morning (he is Pezey's confidante and frequently with the Bishop), *and I supped and got drunk with him every night* [the axiom *In vino veritas* must have been reversed], but seemed to despair of rousing the Cardinal to attack you, which my friend believes to be only a feint, the better to conceal the thing, which he believes [when in his cups] to be come to some maturity; and he has taken notice, as well as myself, of the mild words the Bishop uses in favour of the Cardinal. The last night, on talking of his frozen disposition, the Bishop said, "He was a Venus in the field of Mars, and a Mars in the field of Venus, but that he hoped he would act like Mars in both, as he ought at this juncture."

This idea must have been congenial to the Walpoles, but could not have been uttered by Atterbury. A few lines more, and the marvellous tale is told.

"He told me that the Court had taken the hint (he gave the hint), and Hay was to be no more of their parties." After some unimportant additions, he concludes:—"Believe I shall be faithful and diligent, and wish you all success in your undertakings. *I shall want a small sum more.*"*

Whether this modest application acted like the trifle that broke the camel's back, and the Ambassador became overpowered by his pecuniary burthens, or the extremely startling information thus conveyed to him he discovered to be worthless, this is apparently the last of his traitorous communications.

The letters of the Jacobite spy to Horace Walpole were first printed from the originals, in an appendix to John Nichols' fifth volume of Bishop Atterbury's

* Nichols. Epist. Corr,, &c., V., 261-4.

Epistolary Correspondence, 1798. He gives the Christian name as John, and in pp. 131, 137, 149, 151, 152, 156, when printing the Bishop's letters to him, names him Semple. In other letters, printed in Vol. I., he is called "John Sample," and described as a Jacobite who had been arrested about the same time as the Bishop, but had escaped out of prison and fled to France. In Vol. IV. pp. 233, 248, there are letters from Mr. Sempill. Both are signed, "Fr. Sempill"—a misprint, as not one of Lord Sempill's family, then in Paris, had a Christian name that could have been abbreviated in this way. The copyist may have mistaken "Jn." for "Fr.," or, having very frequently repeated "Fr. Roffen," did so in these instances. Archdeacon Coxe, having sufficiently libelled the Bishop, says, "On his death *John* Semple, a spy in the pay of Government, who lived in habits of intimacy with the Bishop, endeavoured to obtain possession of his papers, for the ostensible purpose of sending them to the Pretender."

The letters of Lord Sempill, preserved among the Stuart Papers in the possession of Her Majesty, prove beyond doubt that it was his lordship who strove to secure the dead man's papers; not *ostensibly* for "the Pretender," but for the Bishop's family, with whom he had been living "in habits of intimacy." His Christian name was Hugh, and his son John was the accredited spy; but the artful misrepresentation of the father to obtain "the fingering" of the deceased Minister's correspondence for the English Government, declares who had the chief claim to Coxe's description of "a spy in the service of Government."

CHAPTER XIV.

FATHER AND DAUGHTER.

Mrs. Morice detained at Dover by bad Weather—Evil Effects on her impaired Health—Further Detention at Plymouth after encountering a violent Storm at Sea—Letter from her Husband—The Bishop's Anxiety and Instructions—Affectionate Letter to his Daughter—His increasing Alarm—The Travellers re-embark and are beaten back to Falmouth—Again put to Sea—Land at Bordeaux—Mary Morice's last Note to her Father—She continues her Journey—Saddening Report of her Husband—The Bishop hurries to meet her—They meet at Toulouse—She dies in his Arms—Report of a Fellow-traveller—Wesley's Poem on the Death of Mrs. Morice—Atterbury returns to Montpelier—His Reply to a Letter from Pope—Correspondence—Thiriot and Rollin.

THE travellers left their house in Delahay Street on the 19th of August, 1729, apparently the most favourable season possible for their journey; Mrs. Morice's pleasurable excitement giving her an improved appearance that caused her husband to look hopefully to the effect of the long route they were commencing. On their way to Dover the weather changed, and the wind became so unfavourable that they were obliged to remain at this port. Day after day passed, and still the passage across the channel was impossible to the now distressed and

disheartened invalid. The detention extended to ten days—ten days of most mischievous influence on the loving heart, that apparently continued its action solely by the impulse of filial love.

On the 31st the weather cleared sufficiently to enable the little party to embark; but scarcely had the vessel put out to sea, when the wind rose with such violence, that after two days of violent beating about, she was forced into Plymouth. Here Mrs. Morice's delicate frame betrayed the ill effects of this rough handling, while the gale continued with increasing force. Her condition, after more than another week's detention, became very critical, and the following communication was addressed to the Bishop by the anxious husband:—

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Plymouth, $\frac{\text{September 26,}}{\text{October 7,}}$ 1729.

My honoured Lord,

We are still kept here by contrary winds, attended with as bad weather as was ever known, as to rain, storms, thunder, and lightning. I think it necessary to acquaint you with it, that it may hinder your surprise at our not reaching Bourdeaux, a place I have many days wished to see, but have still a very distant prospect of it; for the wind seems fixed to a point that will not suffer a ship to venture out of harbour, especially to that part of the world where we are bound. Hard is our fate! Dear Mrs. Morice deserves a much better. She is detained here in a very languishing condition; and I will avoid mentioning how ill she is, for it will but grieve you; and you may rest satisfied that nothing on this side of the water can be done for her more than is. I hope she will soon reach the other, and that we shall find somebody at Bourdeaux to assist us upon our landing. She must rest there some little time before she can possibly be able to proceed further on the journey. It is now near six weeks since we left Westminster, and she has

declined very hastily in that time. It is a lamentable circumstance to be so long retarded on our way at such a juncture. Every hour, for these many days past, has been grievous to me on that account. God send a speedy change for the better in her health, and in the winds to waft us soon over to you! You are constantly in her thoughts, and her most ardent wish is to see you. She sends her duty by me, which she cannot at present convey to you any other way. I beg your blessing and prayers; and shall ever remain, &c.*

In the meantime, unaware of the dangers that surrounded and menaced the sole object of his love, the Bishop had quitted his mountain retreat and returned to his pleasant residence in now again salubrious Montpelier. The morning after his arrival he wrote full instructions for the travellers on their reaching Bordeaux. He addressed both considerately, but wrote to his daughter with an eloquence of affection that showed the intense excitement the protracted delay had occasioned him. The last line of his letter betrays his anxiety:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{August 23,}}{\text{September 3,}}$ 1729.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I returned hither last night from the Cevennes on purpose to send your chaise with my servant George, an Englishman, and a very honest fellow, and well experienced in travelling; on all accounts well qualified, except that he speaks no French, which will I hope be a defect of no consequence to you that do. He brings with him your chaise to Toulouse, and from thence another with it belonging to Mr. Bose; and hopes to be able with both to meet you and Mrs. Morice at the time of your landing. Pray God send you both a speedy, safe, and easy journey!

* Atterbury Papers.

When you come to Bourdeaux, you will apply yourself to the person whose name Mr. Bose transmitted to you, and who will instruct and befriend you in everything relating to your passage hither, and that of the baggage you bring along with you. At Toulouse Mr. Bose's sister will assist you in like manner in your way from thence hither, particularly as to the conveyance of your baggage from thence; for otherwise you will not much need her assistance. I have written by the post to Mr. Cotton at Bourdeaux, desiring if he knows of any parcel of good wine there fit for your and Mrs. Morice's drinking, that he would bespeak it for you, and let you know of it, that it may go with the rest of your things by the Garonne to Toulouse, and from thence be conveyed hither. I hear that, unfortunately, at present that cannot be by the canal, because it is at this time mending; so that from Toulouse, I fear, all you bring along with you must come by land, which will be more expensive and perhaps as tedious. You will therefore load your two chaises with all that is necessary for you upon the road, and for some time after you come hither; lest your baggage, which is to come by the Garonne, and afterwards, if possible, by the canal, should stay too long behind you.

In the meantime I will take care you shall be well lodged here, and to your heart's content; and I trust in God that Mrs. Morice, if she comes safe and well hither, shall soon find the benefit of the air of the place, as well as be a little cheered by being in her old papa's company, whom God has restored to some degree of health in order, I hope, to be the instrument of restoring also health to her. If you sailed from Dover yesterday or to-day, as you proposed, and the wind and weather be there, as here, never could you have either more favourable. Pray God they may continue so till you arrive! Although you come post from Bourdeaux, yet you may come as slow as you please, and make such easy stages as agree best with Mrs. Morice's state of health. The road you come is by all agreed to be the very best in France; so that, in that respect, you will find no manner of inconvenience. I shall expect you earnestly and with great impatience; however, not so earnestly as to wish that you make one step faster than the nicest care of Mrs. Morice's health will suffer you. When you are within a day or two of Montpelier, I have directed George to let me know by

some sure way the day, and as near as you can the very hour, of your intended arrival. A foot messenger will go all night on that errand for a trifle; and I desire you, if George should forget it, to put him early in mind of it.

If you can bring the little present for Mr. Bose with you (I mean the knives and glass sconces), it would be well, whatever else you leave behind to come with the rest of the baggage. You will by that means, when you arrive, make yourselves (if anything can make you) more welcome than you would otherwise be. He is very civil and friendly, and we shall need his assistance on twenty occasions; though, as to myself, I have chosen to make use of it as little as is possible. I say no more, because I must enclose a word to dear Mrs. Morice; and George says he shall be ready soon to set out. God bless and preserve you both, and send you a happy meeting and continuance with your ever affectionate father! *

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{August 22,}}{\text{September 3,}}$ 1729.

My dear Heart,

I have so much to say to you, that I can hardly say anything to you till I see you. My heart is full; but it is in vain to begin upon paper what I can never end. I have a thousand desires to see you, which are checked by a thousand fears lest any ill accident should happen to you in the journey. God preserve you in every step of it, and send you safe hither! and I will endeavour, by His blessing and assistance, to send you well back again, and to accompany you in the journey as far as the law of England will suffer me. I stay here only to receive and take care of you (for no other view should have hindered my coming into the north of France this autumn), and I live only to help towards lengthening your life, and rendering it, if I can, more agreeable to you; for I see not of what use I am, or can be, in other respects. I shall be impatient till I hear you are safely landed, and as impatient after that till you are safely arrived in your winter quarters. God, I hope, will favour you with good weather and all manner of good accidents on the way; and I will take care, my dear love, to make you as easy and happy as I can at the end of your journey.

* Atterbury Papers.

I have written to Mr. Morice about everything I can think of relating to your accommodation on the road; and shall not therefore repeat any part of it in this letter, which is intended only to acknowledge a mistake under which I find myself. I thought I loved you before as much as I could possibly. But I feel such new degrees of tenderness arising in me, upon this terrible long journey, as I was never before acquainted with. God will reward you, I hope, for your piety to me; which had, I doubt not, its share in producing this resolution; and will in rewarding you reward me also, that being the chief thing I have to beg of Him.

Adieu, my dear Heart, till I see you! and until then satisfy yourself that, whatever uneasiness your journey may give you, my expectation of you, and concern for you, will give me more.

I am gotten to another page, and must do violence to myself to stop here. But I will, and abruptly bid you, my dear Heart, adieu! till I bid you welcome to Montpelier.

A line under your own hand, pray, by the post that first sets out after you land at Bourdeaux.*

At Plymouth the wretched invalid was kept twenty-five days. It became more and more evident that she was sustained by that divine impulse which had superseded the ordinary vital power. She clung tenaciously to life with a confidence her Christian education alone could have afforded. Before half this dreadful ordeal had been passed, intelligence of her state had reached the Bishop, who, in a frame of mind impossible to describe, penned the following notes to husband and wife:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MRS. MORICE.

Montpelier, September $\frac{18}{27}$, 1729.

My dear Heart,

I want words to express the concern I am under on your account. Never anything happened so unluckily as the cros

* Atterbury Papers.

winds of this season. If you are not landed, you must have been now sixteen days at sea, the consequence of which I dread; especially if you have had the same ill weather at sea as we for two several nights during this time have had at land. But I trust in God that has not been the case. However, by letters this day from Bourdeaux, I hear that you were not landed on Saturday last; and they tell me that the last ships that came from England were eighteen days in their passage: so that you may be still some days at sea, having sailed only on the eleventh from Dover. The thought of this gives me the utmost pain and disquiet; nor am I able to think of any thing besides you till I have news of your arrival at Bourdeaux: and then the rains that have fallen will render the roads less easy to be passed than I apprehended they would be; so that the land journey itself, especially after such a troublesome passage by sea, will, I fear, be very disagreeable to you. God send all may end well! His Will be done!

A merchant at Bourdeaux, of Mr. Bose's acquaintance, will attend you at your landing, and ease Mr. Morice of a good deal of the trouble of freeing what you bring with you from the claims of the Custom House, and helping to embark them again on the Garonne for Toulouse. At Toulouse Mr. Bose's sister is desired to take care of you. Pray avoid all civilities that she, or any other, shall proffer you on the way that are not entirely consistent with your own ease. I am equally afraid lest there should be too much of this kind in your ill state of health, as lest you should want any real conveniences. All ceremonies and civilities that do not tend entirely to accommodate you with what you want, must be very disagreeable to you. I know not what to say, or what to advise. God preserve you and send you safe to your journey's end, where your disconsolate afflicted father does with the utmost impatience wait for you. Adieu, my dear Heart! Keep up your spirits as well as you can till you reach Montpelier. There all conveniences are prepared for you, and all the care that is possible shall be taken of you.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I do not know in what condition Mrs. Morice may land, and how far therefore it may be fit to put this letter into her hands; so, though I have written it to her, I shall superscribe it to you. I pray God it may never come to your hands, and that

you may have left Bourdeaux before it arrives there! God bless you both, and send you safe to the end of this terrible journey! which gives me more uneasiness than I am able to tell you.

I have written twice to Mr. Cotton to beg him to pitch upon a parcel of good wine, or several parcels of several sorts, which may be sent hither with the rest of your baggage. Do not let that or any thing else retard your journey one moment if Mrs. Morice, upon landing, finds herself able to take it. The Bourdeaux merchant will take care of sending every thing after you by water; and Mr. Cotton can do his part as well after you have left Bourdeaux as while you are there, provided the wine is tasted and approved by you.

I am in the utmost confusion, and know not well what I write to you.—F. R.*

The trials of the sufferer, great as they had been, were far from over. On the 27th of September the voyagers re-embarked, but again the storm was renewed, and after fruitlessly endeavouring to beat up against it, on the 30th (11th Oct., N.S.) the captain was glad to run back into Falmouth. The courageous spirit held up miraculously, and immediately the weather cleared a little, again trusted to the opposing elements. Their opposition now ceased, the good ship spread her sails to a favouring wind as she left Falmouth on the 13th of October, and came to anchor at Bordeaux after a pleasant passage of five days. Two days afterwards Mr. Morice again wrote, and the sinking invalid added a note from herself. Very precious was this document to her father.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Bourdeaux, October $\frac{25}{26}$ 1729.

My honoured Lord,

All my letters of late have been freighted with ill news,

* Atterbury Papers.

uncomfortable for me to write and you to receive. This brings better tidings; for I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you that, after many difficulties, I have brought dear Mrs. Morice alive to this place; and I trust in God that the change of air and climate will, at last, work about the desired effect. She is extremely weak, and our land journey will, I fear, prove very tiresome to her. I shall make it by very slow stages, and by that means render it as easy as possible. We cannot think of beginning it till three or four days hence. We have received several of your kind letters which lay here for us. I shall observe the contents of them, and excuse troubling you with a particular answer, being so soon, I hope, to have a joyful meeting with you.

I have brought the knives and glass sconces along with me; which, with several other things, I propose to put under the care of Monsieur Foucques (the merchant of Mr. Bose's acquaintance to whom I am recommended) to forward to Montpelier. I have not yet seen him. He is out of town, and is not expected till Friday morning. An agent of his comes this minute to wait on me, and advises me by no means to take the knives and other things with me, for they are prohibited, but to leave them to his care to send; and we shall have full as much baggage otherwise to carry with us as our chaises can bear.

Mrs. Morice, though in her bed, is resolved to write you a line or two; so I shall add no more this post but repeated assurances of being ever, &c.*

MRS. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Bourdeaux, October $\frac{9}{20}$, 1729.

Dear Papa,

I have reason to believe the sight of my handwriting will give you pleasure, as the thought of my being so soon to see you does me. I therefore send this scrawl to assure you, not of my being well, but of my not being worse since I landed here; and to thank you for all your kind and tender letters, which serve to revive my spirits, and I hope will support them till we meet. I am impatient till we do; and ever, dear papa, your most affectionate daughter,

MARY MORICE.†

* Atterbury Papers. † *Ibid.*

The enfeebled frame had become quite unable to endure the fatigue of ordinary travelling, and as she clung to the one gratification, the hope of which had borne her up hitherto, her husband was obliged to find a mode of conveyance by which she could continue her progress in a recumbent position. He wrote another sad letter to the already more than sufficiently saddened father:—

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Bourdeaux, October $\frac{1}{21}$, 1729.

My honoured Lord,

My letter four days ago gave you an account of our landing at this place. I all along promised myself that, after passing the sea, the worst of the journey would be over; but I find myself unfortunately mistaken. Dear Mrs. Morice is grown worse than she was at landing, and finds herself so weak as not to be able to bear a post-chaise; so that those you sent to fetch her will be of no use. I have done every thing in the power of myself or friends to procure a litter, but no such voiture is to be obtained here. Monsieur Foucques has done his best; but all Bourdeaux cannot furnish one. Under this sad necessity, I have desired M. Foucques to write to his correspondent at Toulouse to order a litter immediately from thence to meet us on the road; and, for the present, have hired a large boat, which is to be furnished by a Tapissier in such a manner as to prevent dear Mrs. Morice taking any cold upon the water, and by these means I hope to begin our journey from hence to-morrow. I am very uneasy about, and under great confusion, what steps to take. She is desirous of advancing towards you, though it will be by very slow degrees; and, indeed, I wish she may be able to reach Montpelier, the place we depend on for some relief. God grant it may be found soon! for I am not well able to bear so great a misfortune as seems to threaten me. The boat we have hired is to carry us to Agen, where the litter from Toulouse is directed to meet us. From Agen you shall hear further from me or of me: if I cannot write myself, I shall desire Mr. Evans, who came over with us, to write for me.

I have made this a long letter considering the affliction I am under. If matters happen not to mend, I could wish your health would allow of your meeting us on the way. I am sensible how inconvenient travelling will be to you, and therefore would not put you hastily upon it; though I shall not know what to do for want of you if Mrs. Morice continues in the desperate way she seems to be in at present. Last night she made her own reflection how much she was decayed since she left her own house at Westminster; and indeed it is too visible. So many melancholy thoughts flow in upon me, that I must quit my pen with subscribing myself, &c.

P.S.—Monday morning, seven o'clock.

The post going from hence early in the morning, I wrote the foregoing late last night, and kept it open in hopes of giving some better account of my dear wife; but she had a very bad fit about five this morning, and my despair increases upon me. She is impatient to see you; and will, if she can, set out from hence to-morrow, though I fear she will scarce reach Toulouse without some unexpected turn in her favour. Adieu! I am ready to burst with grief.—W. M.*

Immediately after the receipt of this Bishop Atterbury, in an agony of fear, started to meet the sufferer at Toulouse. The light that filial love had fed for months of terrible endurance was flickering in the socket. On the road he received another report, but though slightly more encouraging than the last, it did not remove from the troubled heart the weight of despair that now pressed intolerably upon it. He learnt that she longed to see him, and that his presence might give her new life. He pressed eagerly forward.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Agen, October ⅔, 1729.

My honoured Lord,

We set out last Tuesday morning from Bourdeaux, and

* Atterbury Papers.

reached this place by water yesterday night. I thank God, dear Mrs. Morice has held out thus far; which gives me hopes of bringing her yet to our journey's end, though every now and then I almost despair of it. She is in the weakest condition you can imagine. I expected to have found a litter waiting our arrival at this place, according to the directions Monsieur Foucques sent to Monsieur Maignial, his correspondent at Toulouse, on that head; but, instead of it, I just now receive a letter acquainting me that no litter could be procured, and that I must take my measures accordingly. I have done so; and we shall set out from hence to-morrow in the same boat which brought us from Bourdeaux hither, which perhaps may prove the best way, though a tedious one; for it will take six or seven days to go up the river from this place to Toulouse. But Mrs. Morice is more at her ease in the boat than she could be in any other voiture. She has a little cabin made up for her in it, and reposes upon a mattress all the way. She has not strength to support herself for any time without lying down. I have also with me a *chaise à porteur* to carry her to and from the boat to the places where we must lodge at nights, and I should not have known what to have done if I had not taken that precaution. You may easily imagine in what a disconsolate condition I am; one day flattering me with hopes of her doing well, and the next throwing me into the utmost despair.

I cannot tell whether this letter may reach you at Montpelier; for probably you are on the way to meet us after receiving mine of Monday last. I hope you are. My dear wife longs earnestly to see you; and, indeed, there is no visible certainty at present of her getting to Montpelier. I should be overjoyed to see you at Toulouse. The meeting would give new life to Mrs. Morice, on whom my happiness entirely depends. All duty and respect conclude this from, &c.*

The Bishop's daughter was carried forward by short and easy stages. She would not hear of a moment's delay, more than was requisite to nurse the little life she retained for one purpose exclusively. Town after town was reached with fluctuating re-

* Atterbury Papers.

sults, but when within half a league of her destination, the flame burnt so very low, that nothing but the knowledge that she was about to meet her father kept it from expiring. At last the little party reached Toulouse, and at last the two loving hearts throbbed together in a fond embrace. The parent saw his doom in his first glance of the wasted face, but bore up against its crushing influence with Christian fortitude. The privilege was left him of administering the consolations of their mutual faith, as the faithful heart fluttered its last pulses on his bosom.

The touching incidents of these few days are preserved in the narrative of an eye-witness, a fellow-traveller, Mr. John Evans :—

About five we arrived there, and soon after six the litter came, which carried Mrs. Morice to the house in Toulouse, where her father was expecting her arrival, and not knowing till then how near or how far off she was, though he had despatched a man and horse to get intelligence of us, who happened to miss us. When the servants who had been sent for the litter returned, she was informed of the Bishop's being at Toulouse, and seemed to take new spirits upon it, which no doubt were of great use, to enable her to bear going in the litter, which, otherwise, she could scarce have done even for so short a way.

After she had been put into bed, and had a little recovered the fatigue she underwent in the conveyance from the boat, which was about a mile, her father, whom she immediately enquired after, came into her room, and was startled to find her in so very low a condition. After mutual expressions of concern and tenderness, she particularly acknowledged the great blessing that was granted her of meeting her dear papa; and exerted all the little life that was in her, *in grasping his hands with her utmost force*, as she often did, and told him [that] that meeting was the chief thing that she had ardently desired.

The Bishop some time after left her chamber, that she might compose herself, and that he might himself give vent to the just

grief he was filled with to see his beloved child in a manner expiring. But we found she took no rest, so he soon returned, and then said prayers by her, and proposed to her the receiving the Holy Sacrament the next morning, when he hoped she might have been a little refreshed in order to it—she embraced the offer with much satisfaction. He then asked her, for fear of any accident, if she was not desirous of having the Absolution of the Church. She declared she was, and begged to have it. After some little private discourse with her, he gave it her in the form prescribed in "The Visitation of the Sick," and she expressed great comfort upon receiving it.

A physician had been sent for immediately upon her arrival. When he came he gave little hopes, but said all depended upon the manner of her passing that night, and in the mean time prescribed only what would be comfortable and cordial to her stomach and bowels.

The writer goes into some details unnecessary to repeat, and refers to the conduct of her physician in London, who had neglected visiting her for some time previous to her departure; a few words passed on the subject between father and daughter. The narrative proceeds:—

Hoping by this time she might incline to take a little rest, her father and husband retired, it being between eleven and twelve at night; but about two in the morning she sent one of her women to me—who lay on the same floor in the next room to her—to desire to speak to me, and when I came she said, not seemingly with much pain, but with such a shortness of breath that she was forced to breathe every two or three words,—

"Mr. Evans—I have been working [wishing?] these three hours—and would fain—have the Sacrament."

I wondered at her sending for me on that account, her husband and father being both near at hand; but I found afterwards it was her unwillingness by a direct message from herself, too much to alarm either of them. However, being then not apprised of her reason for it, I doubted a little of her being in her right senses, and said, "Madam, would you *now* receive the Sacrament?"

She said, "Yes, I would—if possible—presently."

Of which the Bishop being immediately advised, as was Mr. Morice, and everything prepared, he came and administered to her and to all present the Sacrament, and afterwards, at her desire, continued repeating the Prayers of the Church, till she began to draw very near her end; and then he used and continued the recommendatory prayer only—she all the while holding her hands in a posture of prayer, and sometimes joining in a low voice with him.

After this, her father being gone from the bedside, she called for him—as she had very frequently done—and again said to him,—

"Dear papa—what a blessing it is—that after—such a long—troublesome—journey—we have—the comfort—of this meeting."

And, indeed, when I reflect on it (adds the narrator), and consider the weak condition she was in upon the road, the many accidents that happened to retard the voyage, and the last effort she made when she was at the worst, towards finishing it, I cannot but think that that meeting seemed *granted by Heaven to her continued fervent prayers for it.*

He then states:—

About this time she called to her husband—who was always in near attendance upon her—and said, "Dear Mr. Morice—take care of the children—I know you will. Remember me—to the Duchess of Buckingham." She also, in a proper place, recommended her servants to Mr. Morice.

She now found her feet cold, and ordered them to be rubbed, at the same time calling for her broth; but when it came, not being able to swallow it, she turned herself on her left side, and rested her head on her left hand, which she doubled, extending her right hand and arm over the bed-clothes; and in this posture she continued drawing her breath shorter and shorter, but with the least emotion that possibly could be, till she at last expired, a quarter before four o'clock on Tuesday morning, Nov. 8th, N.S.

This worthy priest thought the trouble of his very troublesome journey amply recompensed by the edifying spectacle he had been permitted to witness, and makes the following concluding remarks:—

An entire resignation to the will of God, a piety towards her

father, husband, and family, made her death full of the religion of a saint, and of the regularity and composedness of a philosopher. It was then she gave a seal and sanction to the judgment and affection of her friends, and shewed one of the best and wisest, as well as noblest of her sex—the Duchess of Buckingham, who, I have heard, had a very great regard for her—that she had made a right judgment of her, and bestowed her love on one who deserved it. Such a death at the end of a virtuous life would make one see what is dearest and nearest to us expire, not only without uneasiness, but with pleasure, were human nature capable of acting by reason at such a time, without passion; but the most exalted of mankind partake of the dying pains of those that nature and affection have made dear to them; and even feel agonies which the dying are sometimes, by special favour, exempted from—as I really think she was.*

The writer referred to the bereaved father as well as to his saint-like daughter in his closing sentence. His sufferings were terrible, the blow overwhelming; but poor humanity having displayed its natural weakness, the power of Christian philosophy presently raised and sustained his nature for further endurance.†

The Bishop's poetic friends, who had known his lost treasure from her blameless childhood, did not permit the moving tragedy of her fate to pass without a fitting record. One of the warmest and truest produced these lines:—

ON THE DEATH OF MRS. MORICE, DAUGHTER OF THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

BY S. WESLEY.

Heu! nunc misero mihi demum
Exilium infelix! nunc altè vulnus adactum.

* Nichols. Epist. Corr., &c., Vol. I. pp. 252–9.

† A writer in a respectable periodical, published towards the conclusion of the last century, observes: "As scenes of distress display the highest and most affecting degrees of virtue, so the exile of the Bishop of Rochester gave occasion to a noble and very interesting exercise of parental tenderness on the one part, and of filial duty and affection on the other."—*English Review*.

No fabled song, my mournful heart essay
But genuine grief adorn the flowing lay;
In numbers such as friendship can inspire,
Wail the lost daughter and the living sire;
Till flinty breasts resistless sorrow know,
And melt reluctant at another's woe;
Till party zeal the father shall deplore,
And those who hate him most, shall pity more.
What time the state its indignation shed,
And launch'd its second thunder on his head;
When nobles judged the well-defended cause,
And Commons' care supplied defective laws;
Then first the wound relentless Fortune made,
Which, festering, secret on her vitals prey'd,
Guiltless she pined, or wholly guiltless she,
Or only stain'd with filial piety.
In vain might friends to soothe her anguish try,
No friend a father's absence could supply;
No darling children could afford relief,
Nor husband's fondness heal the daughter's grief;
The sweets of life sufficient balm could prove,
Nor the dear softness of a wedded love.

* * * * * *

Rise to her wishes, rise propitious gales,
And with new swiftness wing the flagging sails.
What sails can equal to her wishes go?
The tide rolls tedious and the wind flies slow;
The pensive days in heavy march proceed,
Time, ever hastening, seems to slack his speed;
For love too slow, for life he flies too fast,
And ev'ry painful hour forebodes the last.

* * * * * *

Her soul unconquer'd yet disdains to part,
And holds the citadel—of Love—the heart;
Determined, stedfast, not to seek the skies,
Till the dear father bless her longing eyes.
In vain did Nature, spent, forbid her stay,
And guardian angels beckon her away,
With frailer flesh the immortal spirit strove,
Strong to delay the stroke, though not remove,
And Death, all, conquering, yields awhile to Love!

* * * * * *

Behold they meet! so Providence decrees,
All she desires on earth, on earth she sees;
Here terrors now have ceased—when he is near,
Her father's daughter knows not how to fear.

The long-sought strife her spirit now gave o'er,
And sought the quiet that it shunn'd before;
The father bless'd her ere to Heav'n she went,
The Priest absolved the dying penitent.

The poet then represents the bereaved exclaiming—

'Tis fatal with my woes to sympathize,
He dies who writes, as he who sees me dies!
Not e'en this exile seem'd enough severe,
To my lost country Brussels seem'd too near;
Not Paris' walls these hoary hairs can screen,
My fate pursues me to the banks of Seine.
Let it pursue! Still, still could I withstand
The utmost fury of a mortal hand,
But with resistless force the vengeance flies,
When God inflicts the Pains and Penalties!

He concludes with an anticipation of the close of the exile's career,—

Yet still himself let the great Prelate know,
Still raised superior to his weight of woe,
Instruct mankind their load of life to bear,
And shame the murmurer, and the wretched cheer.

Some months afterwards the Bishop forwarded his acknowledgments:—"I have received a poem from Mr. Morice, which I must be insensible not to thank you for—your elegy upon the death of Mrs. Morice. It is what I cannot help an impulse upon me to tell you, under my own hand, the satisfaction I feel, the approbation I give, the envy I bear you for the good deed and good work: as a poet and as a man I thank you—I esteem you."

On this subject the Bishop also wrote to Mr. Morice:—

Paris, 1730.

The verses you sent me touched me very nearly, and the Latin in the front of them as much as the English that followed. There are a great many good lines in them, and they are written with as much affection as poetry. They came from

the heart of the author, and he has a share of mine in return; and if ever I come back to my country with honour, he shall find it.*

The exile went back to the home that he had fondly expected would be cheered by the dear face now, pale and cold in her coffin, under the charge of the widower to convey for interment to England. As soon as he had rallied from the stunning blow he had received, he thought of his social obligations. Among his correspondents in England, the one in whose communications he took most pride had dared the brutal severity of the Whig Government, while endeavouring to afford consolation as well as sympathy.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Montpelier, November $\frac{2}{13}$, 1729.

Yes, dear sir, I have had all you designed for me, and have read all (as I read whatever you write) with esteem and pleasure. But your last letter, full of friendship and goodness, gave me such impressions of concern and tenderness as neither I can express, nor you, perhaps, with all the force of your imagination, fully conceive.

I am not yet master enough of myself, after the late wound I have received, to open my very heart to you; and am not content with less than that whenever I converse with you. My thoughts are at present vainly but pleasingly employed on what I have lost, and can never recover. I know well I ought, for that reason to call them off to other subjects; but hitherto I have not been able to do it. By giving them the rein a little, and suffering them to spend their force, I hope in some time to check and subdue them.—"Multis fortunæ vulneribus perculsus, huic uni me imparem sensi, et pené succubui." This is weakness, not wisdom, I own; and on that account fitter to be intrusted to the bosom of a friend, where I may safely lodge all my infirmities. As soon as my mind is in some measure corrected and

* Atterbury Papers.

calmed, I will endeavour to follow your advice, and turn it towards something of use and moment, if I have still life enough left do do any thing that is worth reading and preserving.

In the mean time I shall be pleased to hear that you proceed in what you intend without any such melancholy interruptions as I have met with. You outdo others on all occasions; my hope and my opinion is that, on moral subjects and in drawing characters, you will outdo yourself. Your mind is as yet unbroken by age and ill accidents—your knowledge and judgment are at the height; use them in writing somewhat that may teach the present and future times; and if not gain equally the applause of both, may yet raise the envy of the one and secure the admiration of the other. Remember, Virgil died at fifty-two and Horace at fifty-eight; and, as weak as both their constitutions were, yours is yet more delicate and tender. Employ not your precious moments and great talents upon little men and little things; but choose a subject every way worthy of you; and handle it, as you can, in a manner which nobody else can equal or imitate. As for me, my abilities (if I ever had any) are not what they were; and yet I will endeavour to recollect and employ them—

——— gelidus tardante senectâ
Sanguis hebet, frigentique effœtæ in corpore vires.

However, I should be ungrateful to this place if I did not own that I have gained upon the gout in the South of France much more than I did at Paris, though even there I sensibly improved. What happened to me here last summer was merely the effect of my folly in trusting too much to a physician, who kept me six weeks on a milk diet without medicine, contrary to all the rules of the faculty. The milk threw me at last into a fever; and that fever soon produced the gout; which, finding my stomach weakened by a long disuse of meat, attacked it; and had like at once to have dispatched me. The excessive heats of this place concurred to heighten the symptoms; but in the midst of my distemper I took a sturdy resolution of retiring thirty miles into the mountains of the Cevennes; and there I soon found relief from the coolness of the air and the verdure of the climate, though not to such a degree as not still to feel some relics of those pains in my stomach which till lately I had never felt. Had I stayed there (as I intended) till the end of October, I

believe my cure had been perfected; but the earnest desire of meeting one I *dearly loved* called me abruptly to Montpelier, whence, after continuing two months under the cruel torture of a sad and fruitless expectation, I was forced at last to take a long journey to Toulouse; and even there I had missed the person I sought, had she not, with great spirit and courage, ventured all night up the Garonne to see me, which she above all things desired to do before she died. By that means she was brought where I was between seven and eight in the morning, and lived twenty hours afterwards; which time was not lost on either side, but passed in such a manner as gave great satisfaction to both, and such as on her part, every way became her circumstances and character. She had her senses to the very last gasp, and exerted them to give me in those few hours greater marks of duty and love than she had done in all her lifetime, though she had never been wanting in either. The last words she said to me were the kindest of all—a reflection on the goodness of God, which had allowed us in this manner to meet once more before we parted for ever. Not many minutes after that she laid herself on her pillow in a sleeping posture—

——— placidâque ibi demùm morte quievit.

Judge you, sir, what I felt, and still feel, on this occasion; and spare me the trouble of describing it. At my age, under my infirmities, among utter strangers, how shall I find out proper reliefs and supports? I can have none but those with which reason and religion furnish me, and those I lay hold and make use of as well as I can; and hope that He who laid the burthen upon me (for wise and good purposes, no doubt), will enable me to bear it, in like manner as I have borne others, with some degree of fortitude and firmness.

You see how ready I am to relapse into an argument which I had quitted once before in this letter. I shall probably again commit the same fault if I continue to write; and therefore I stop short here; and with all sincerity, affection, and esteem, bid you adieu till we meet either in this world, if God pleases, or else in another!

A friend I have with me will convey this safely to your hands, though perhaps it may be some time before it reaches you: Whenever it does, it will give you a true account of the posture

of mind I was in when I wrote it, and which I hope may by that time be a little altered.*

A few more replies to friendly inquiries are here added, that show the gradual restoration of the writer's mind to its wonted serenity. He returned to his ordinary occupations and speculations with a chastened spirit. The second and third letters are to the bereaved husband, to whom he addressed consolation and instruction with his usual judgment. The last, apparently, is about some communication that had been made respecting the office of high bailiff of Westminster.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. DICCONSON.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{November 22,}}{\text{December 4,}}$ 1729.

Sir,

I have your letter of the fifteenth of November, N.S., and am much obliged to you for the friendly concern you express in it as to my poor daughter, of whom, seven days before the date of it, God was pleased to deprive me upon a melancholy yet comfortable meeting I had with her at Toulouse, where she survived her arrival twenty hours, and spent that little time which was left her in such a manner as will make her memory ever dear and valuable to me. I thought nothing could have added to the affection and esteem I had for her; but I found myself mistaken in those last moments when she took her leave of me. She is gone, and I must follow her. When I do, may my latter end be like hers! It was my business to have taught her to die: instead of it, she has taught me. I am not ashamed, and wish I may be able to learn that lesson from her. What I feel upon her loss is not to be expressed; but a reflection on the *manner* of it makes me some amends. God has tempered the severity of the one by the circumstances of the other; and has dealt with me, as in the rest of his inflictions, so as, together with the great burthen he laid upon me, to enable me at the same time in some measure to bear it.

* Atterbury Papers.

You will pardon me for entering into no other matter at present; not even that important one of the Peace, which, they write me word from Spain, is concluded, and by that means an end put to any hopes vainly conceived from those negotiations, and to all the ungrounded promises of the Spanish Ministers at Paris. I have no inclination to enlarge on such matters now, or to trouble you or myself with reflections on what passes on the other side either of the Pyrenees or the Alps. The great Master of events has wise reasons in every case for what he does in regard to public or private persons; and we must submit to them even when we do not comprehend or relish them.—I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.†

Montpelier, December $\frac{9}{20}$, 1729.

—— and blamed my own stupidity; which I fear will increase upon me now I am alone, and (to say truth) take some pleasure in being so; having leisure to recollect and consider every way what passed in that sad scene at Toulouse, which I believe will ever be graved firmly in my memory. Whenever I forget it, as I now desire, so I shall then deserve to live no longer; for it was intended doubtless for my instruction and use by Him who brought that affliction upon me, and I am in the wrong if I do not employ it to that purpose.

The loss, dear Mr. Morice, that we have had is invaluable, and irretrievable on your side as well as mine; nothing in this world can make us amends for it. I particularly am stripped of one who was an ornament and support to me in all my misfortunes—who was tied to me by affection as well as duty; and whose friendship, discretion, and other good qualities, I could upon all occasions have relied on with the utmost security. She helped me to bear all other ill accidents. Who will help me now to bear this as I ought to do? I know you will do your part; but you want so much comfort yourself, that I cannot expect much assistance of that kind from you. Your letters, the frequency and fullness of them, are what I chiefly depend on in this respect; and I promise myself that you will be so much the less

* Atterbury Papers.

† This is a portion only, the beginning has not been preserved.

wanting in them, as you know well that I have more need of them than formerly.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Montpelier, $\frac{\text{January } 30}{\text{February } 10}$, 1729-30.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I was pleased to receive yours of January $\frac{15}{26}$ from Westminster. I had that of January $\frac{2}{13}$ from Dover. I shall be under an uneasy suspence of mind till I hear of the arrival of the body, and whatever relates to the last melancholy offices that are to be performed towards it. In the mean time I share at this distance (and perhaps more than share) the deep concern with which your present sad circumstances must be attended. I am glad your two eldest children had any just sense of their loss; and doubt not but you will every way take care to keep alive in them the remembrance of their mother, who can now be no otherwise serviceable to them than by her character. Their and your loss is great; nor is mine little, Mr. Morice, or very easy to be borne by me. My burthen grows greater as my strength decays, which should support me under it. I am not well, nor yet extremely ill. I have nothing of the gout (perhaps it were better that I had), but such a heaviness and indisposition towards thought or action as I never before felt. I can neither bring nor keep up my mind (which grows old together with my body) to any fixed degree of serious attention; nor care I much for company, such especially as I meet here. So my time passes away in no very agreeable manner, as you may imagine. I have a long journey to perform from hence to Paris, and doubt whether I may have strength to perform it at the time when it becomes proper, being under an apprehension that a fit of the gout, which has been so long unexpectedly deferred, may then seize me. But that must be as God pleases. The pains of my breast are not gone, nor yet are they very troublesome to me. I use no doctors in the case, for they pretend not to be able to do me much service. Larroquet has been with me for a day or two, but has for this fortnight and more attended on the young Earl of Lincoln* at Aix; nor know I when I shall see

* Where he died on the 30th of April. George I. was his godfather. He was little more than twelve years old.

him. As to other people here, I see them as often as I care for it.

I am not able to send you the translation* you desire at present; nor is it at all necessary to be done by my hand. The spirit and elegance you mention are unnecessary in the case: it is sufficient for the purpose, and the person for whom it is desired, that the plain sense of it be represented in order to form a judgment how far any part of it is or is not proper; towards which the beauty of style no way contributes; and this can be as well done with you as here. Nevertheless, if it be the express desire of the person that wants it, it must and shall be complied with as soon as I am in a condition to perform what is asked, which at present I really am not.

I have your bill upon Waters for £200; but do not at present, nor shall soon, need it. I have a letter in relation to the money matter you have undertaken to solicit, in which are these words: —"I am very much obliged to you for your friendship concerning my private affair. Pray do me the favour to thank Mr. Morice from me for his civility and friendship in taking the trouble to meddle with that business under the concern he must be in for his late loss." You see how much you will oblige if you can bring that point to a good issue, and you will therefore, I hope, leave no stone unturned towards it. It will for ever be remembered with gratitude by the person obliged; and is in itself so reasonable a point, and so full of good consequences, that will be every way agreeable to those themselves who are to be applied to, that I cannot but flatter myself that they will consent to it. If they comply, insist upon it that it be in such an effectual manner as may fully enable the person wanting their assistance to execute what he intends. I hope you had a long letter from me in answer to yours from Calais. No letters for you have come to my hands since those I enclosed to you when you were at Paris.

I am not a little pleased that the lady† who so much esteemed the dead continues her good offices to the living. I hope her goodness will rather encrease than diminish. I shall be

* Of the Latin epitaph which the Bishop wrote upon Hugh Chamberlen, M.D. —W. M.

† The Duchess of Buckingham.

extremely uneasy till I hear from you on all those chief heads which I have most at heart, and most earnestly recommended to you; and, after those, accounts of public persons and things (such as you know I want and wish for) would be most grateful to me.

Lord Nottingham, I find, is dead; and his son, the present Lord, married to Lord Denbigh's sister. I should be glad to know how the dispute between the son and father ended, and whether the latter died in good terms with the former. I have the speech and address of the Lords: the other from the Commons is to be sure at least as strong. It is easy to see how the opposition given to the Court (if any be given) will end. The credit of this Peace will carry every thing before it; nor is there ground enough left to stand upon, in order to manage an attack, as far as yet appears of the state of things. So the session may be very short, and will probably not be very troublesome. You see what long letters I write, who have nothing to say to you from hence worth your knowing. Can you deny me the satisfaction of [having] still longer from you, who can speak to me on so many points that will be highly useful and instructive as well as agreeable to me? I depend upon your dwelling on such subjects as much and often as your leisure and opportunities will suffer you.

Your next, perhaps, will bring some particular accounts how all was received that you took along with you, and how the proposal about your office works. I suppose it is not regarded; for, if I understand aright, the copy of the letter written to you at Paris and transmitted to me from you (I think) at Calais, the high blood some people are in will make them unattentive to all such proposals, and treat them with the utmost negligence and contempt. This I expect, and shall be extremely surprised to find it otherwise.

Adieu, dear Mr. Morice! My blessing to you and to your children! I am sorry this way of correspondence is likely to prove so dilatory; especially since you have not, and I cannot pitch upon any other. I may probably write to you again by a gentleman that goes over to England soon: after that I shall lie still (as to all matters that require to be spoken of with freedom) till I am sure of the canal made use of by the replies I receive from you.

Just now the enclosed comes to me from Bourdeaux, and therefore I transmit it to you; and shall say nothing of the contents of it but what I have added in my own hand at the end of that letter. The weather has been fine ever since the 5th, the time fixed for sailing; so I hope all is safe, and that they are near arrived by this time. God sustain and comfort you under your trouble, and bless you and yours! and may the kindness and friendship of the great lady continue! which, as soon as I receive what I expect from thence, and have by that means a proper handle to write given me, I will not fail to acknowledge.

F. R.

Thiriot was on very intimate terms with Voltaire, with whom he had dined every day for six months in the Bastile, in the year 1725. He was in constant communication with him; at least a hundred of his letters will be found in Voltaire's correspondence. He was also an esteemed correspondent of Frederick the Great for thirty years. He formed the acquaintance of the English prelate, and they interchanged their opinions respecting the literary works brought under their observation. Atterbury wrote a criticism on a production of some celebrity, "Mémoires et Reflections sur les Principaux Evênemens du Regne de Louis XIV.;" he forwarded a second letter, on the poetry of Rousseau; a third, on the "History of the Four Gordians," by Du Bos; a fourth gives the writer's opinions of another work by the Abbé; a fifth conveys his ideas of Fontenelle; a sixth is devoted to a production by the Abbé de Chateneuf; a seventh, eighth, and ninth are devoted to a consideration of the merits of Bossuet. The writer also ventures to express his sympathy with Père Courayer, who was then under the ban of his ecclesiastical superiors. These interesting communications

show to what extent the minister of "James III." profited by his leisure. M. Thiriot, however, it should be borne in mind, was only one of his literary correspondents; there were several others whom, not being sufficient masters of English to profit by his letters in that language, Atterbury addressed in Latin, in which he generally wrote with remarkable ease and fluency. Among them was Rollin—long a name held in high estimation in historical literature. He was Rector of the University of Paris, and had presented to the Bishop a copy of his four volumes, published in 1726–8: "De la manière d'étudier et d'enseigner les Belles Lettres."

CHAPTER XV.

THE EXILE RETURNED TO PARIS.

Care of the Dead—Respect and Condolence—Kindness of the Duchess of Buckingham—The Bishop writes to Pope—His Liberality to a Critic—The Prodigal returned—Conference with the Duchess respecting the Affairs of the Pretender—The Bishop, when applied to, communicates his Advice—Private Correspondence with his Son-in-law—Atterbury and Voltaire—Last Days of the Duke of Wharton—"Our Twickenham Friend"—Mary Morice's Children and their Father visit the Exile—Pulteney and "The Craftsman"—Oldmixon's Libel respecting an alleged tampering with Lord Clarendon's MSS.—The Bishop's Refutation—His Letter to Pope—Dr. Lewis Atterbury's Will—"Honest Shippen" on Dr. Radcliffe's Benefaction and the Clarendon MSS.—Atterbury to the Duchess of Buckingham—His Letter to Lord Inverness—His Last Illness—Testimonials of his Worth.

THE saddened spirit of the exile was extremely solicitous respecting the safe transit to their sepulture of the remains of her he had lost. He wrote more than once on the subject, evidently following the transit of those precious remains from stage to stage along the melancholy route with an absorbing interest. He could not be permitted to follow in person, but all the weary way he seems to have been present in spirit, grieving with the earnestness of one who knows that his loss is irreparable, painfully

anxious that what was left of his earthly happiness should receive honourable treatment on its way to a worthy sepulchre, designed for his own interment, where the hearts that had been so closely united in life might mingle their dust.

It was in vain that he strove to divert his thoughts. On his journey to Paris, among his old associates in the French capital, while striving to interest himself in the politics of Europe, his attention appeared always directed to the coffin as it proceeded to the coast, as it crossed the sea, and as it was permitted to make its progress to Westminster.

He wanted something to take off his attention from so painful a subject, and this necessity occasioned his partial return to his former duties. He engaged in a considerable correspondence with James and his most influential adherents, but it was long before he became sufficiently reconciled to his heavy affliction to be able to exercise his wonted judgment in such employments.

Mr. Morice wrote from Paris on his homeward journey (Jan. 7, 1729-30) to tell the Bishop that he had seen Father Inese, the Abbé Southcote, Mr. Waters, and Sir Peter, and other friends, who had hastened to condole with him on his irreparable loss. The Bishop's daughter had left the same impression on these worthy priests as she had made wherever her feminine virtues had appeared. He wrote:—

Southcote and I had a melancholy meeting: the good man at the sight of me began to weep, and produced not a few tears in me. I find him extremely concerned for both you and me at Mrs. Morice's death. He had an exceeding value for her, and

my letters from England tell me everybody had so there. Sir Peter, in his blunt way, declared the same thing; and upon the whole I find all our acquaintances here are sharers with us in our loss. It is indeed no more than I expected, for who could know her and not love her?

He informs the Bishop that in his banker's account he had overdrawn to the amount of 1,560 livres, and that not only had the writer adjusted the balance, but placed 3,320 livres to his credit, while he had given directions for the transmission to him of £1,000. It seems that the kind Duchess had taken the opportunity of the recent sorrow to her as much as to any of the friends of the exile, to be kinder than ever, and had communicated with the widower. "It is really a kind letter, and written with a good deal of judgment. She mentions not Mrs. Morice, who is gone, but the children who survive, after whom she never made the least inquiry during the mother's life." He presently adds, "Dear Mrs. Morice, when alive, was about ten weeks in getting to Bordeaux, and her precious corpse is likely to be detained there a longer time." In a postscript he refers more at length to the hindrances thrown in the way of the return to England of Mrs. Morice's remains, as well as of the indecorous manner in which they were treated, apparently in consequence of sanitary regulations.

Mr. Morice communicated again from Calais on the 14th of January. "The journey from Paris hither," he wrote, "afforded me, as I knew it would, great room for reflection. Every place I passed by reminded me of the dear companion I used to have with me." He

also announces his purpose of selling his office and, with his children, living with the Bishop in France. He seems to have been entrusted with important despatches, for the safe transfer of which he is evidently extremely solicitous.*

When the weather became sufficiently favourable for travelling, Bishop Atterbury with his little retinue quitted the South of France, and returned to the capital. Very few of his communications written at this time have been preserved; the following, however, though dated in the previous year, was probably one:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. POPE.

November 20, 1729.

I venture to thank you for your kind and friendly letter, because I think myself very sure of a safe conveyance, and I am uneasy till I have told you what impressions it made upon me. I will do it with the same simplicity and truth with which I wrote to you from Montpelier upon a very melancholy occasion—the memory of which would have been in the most touching manner awakened by what you writ, had it been entirely laid asleep, as it never will or can be. Time and a succession of other objects, added to reason and religion—for even these great principles that should command our nature want now and then some assistance from it—may divert the attention of my mind from what it loves too much to think of, though it finds no pleasure in such thoughts; they may deaden the quick sense of grief and prevent the frequent returns of it, but where it is well fixed they cannot extinguish it.†

The heavy sorrow was not one that could be diminished, though it might be ameliorated, by the soothing influence of time, or placed a little aside by

* Nichols. Miscellaneous Works of Atterbury, V., 140-9.

† Atterbury Papers.

the distracting occupations of business. To another correspondent, whose name has not been preserved, he wrote:—

Dear Sir,

Your endeavours that I may forget my misfortunes are truly noble. It would be to deserve them to fly from resolution. They shall not depress me, but I must help to bear what you tell me lies so heavy upon my friends. I preserve a mean, which is the excellence, justice, and fitness of all things in the moral system.

> Virtue's a mean, and vice is an excess,
> In doing more than's fit, or doing less.

To poetize, my friend, is no mark of a depressed fancy or excessive sorrrow; but a sort of a comical way of treating things serious—not after the subtle fashions of those you speak of, that would magnify nature by depressing the Deity, who, setting forth their necessary agreement, make unnecessary strife. With reverence do I mention these things, and know—

> How the great love of Nature fills thy mind,
> And universal kindness to thy kind.

I am, while thus juvenile, an advocate for, and not a railer against extremes. Those symptoms strongly bode a second youth that vapours with a feeble and defective flame—it is the enervated arm of Priam impotently raised against the thundering rage of youthful Pyrrhus. However, this epistle, my dear friend, shall not become more tawdry by its not being of a piece, for I will conclude with answering your last serious question with another scrap of poetry:—

> Whate'er the soul of Nature has design'd,
> And wrought on matter, is th' effect of mind;
> The form of substance is the former's art,
> Hence Beauty and Design that strike the heart.
> There's nought in simple matter to delight,
> 'Tis the fair workmanship that takes the sight;
> The beautiful effect of mind alone
> Is comely, and in all things comely shown.
> Where mind is not, there horror needs must be,
> For matter, formless, is deformity.

John Dennis has already been referred to as a literary

character, who had the double misfortune not to appreciate his contemporaries, and to be unappreciated by them. The Bishop heard that he was in distress and had been shabbily treated by the minister,* and, like a good bishop, a good author, and a good man, forwarded the broken-down critic, as his contribution to a fund then raising for him, the very liberal donation of £100.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. JOHN DENNIS.

Paris, 1730.

Sir,

I heard one of my adversaries has not considered duly your merit; but continues firm to the present fashion of distinguishing every kind of it by ill-treatment.

I am informed by the newspapers that there is a voluntary subscription going forwards for your advantage. I send you my mite, which I have really borrowed in order thereto, for it so happens that some enemies of mine enjoy an affluence I am deprived of; but I have made this little effort as one instance that it is people, not denominations, I consider; and, to the best of my small power of showing, I always shall be proud of doing it.—I am, sir, &c.†

The Bishop's son-in-law obtained a sign-manual for another journey to France, but before making use of it he wrote (July 1), excusing his silence, on the plea of having had to attend to his wife's funeral, then to the troublesome business of his claim on Colonel Charteris, and as well as to endeavour to realize his intention of disposing of his office. He forwards a mourning ring, containing some of Mrs. Morice's hair. He wrote again on the 9th, dwelling on the vexation which the Charteris affair continued

* Walpole. † Atterbury Papers.

to give him. He announces that his "Park neighbour," the kind-hearted resident at Buckingham House, is about to travel to Paris, and adds a paragraph of deeper interest respecting the young sailor:—

I now give you the news of my brother Obby's safe arrival from China. He came home to me last night, where he shall find the same reception and friendship as when his dear sister was alive. He has not had an hour's illness since he was abroad. He tells me he has made this voyage without contracting any debts; so, although he brings no money in his pocket, yet there is a reformation for the better. Captain Elliston has been extremely kind to him, and the good usage he has met with has reconciled him better to a seafaring life than he ever was before. I have not yet seen the captain; after I have I shall be able to send you a particular account how he has behaved in general. He designs to write to you himself.*

Both items of news were in the highest degree gratifying to the exile—the visit of the kind Duchess and the reformation of his son. A few days later came confirmation of the first.

Mr. Morice wrote from Dover on the 16th, announcing his arrival there with the Duchess and the Duke of Buckingham, and their intention of sailing the next morning, adding that it would be a month before he could follow. "You are in as high esteem with her Grace as ever, and you will know so as soon as she is rested a little in Paris." He acquaints the Bishop with his having placed a large portion of his gains by the Charteris affair "to the good Dowager's service," which he knows "will be acceptable to you." In conclusion, he says, "The two

* Atterbury Papers.

girls dined last Sunday at Buckingham House, and her Grace was extremely fond of them. She thinks the eldest very like her mother, and both of them fine children."*

The exile renewed his friendly relations with the kind Duchess, with whom he enjoyed many conferences, on, if possible, more confidential terms than before. The memory of the dead bound them closer together. When justice had been done to her virtues, other subjects had to be considered: the prospects of her son and the position of her brother. He gave his friend the advantage of his sound judgment in both, and, as far as can be ascertained, there was no difference of opinion between them. It was well known to them that everything was going wrong, simply because the head of that insignificant coterie at Rome set an example of wrong-doing. A suspicion had already been excited among the Jacobins that the seed sown in Newgate was displaying a flourishing crop in Italy, and the Duchess resolved to look nearer into the proceedings of James's court and cabinet.

Mr. Morice followed, and proved himself no less a Jacobite; indeed his financial services were of the greatest importance, not only to the ex-minister, but to several of his coadjutors. While the Pretender's make-believe council remained in their present unsatisfactory state, he would not interfere officially in his affairs; but the advice James needed so much, he never withheld when it was applied for. This was

* Nichols. Miscellaneous Works of Atterbury, &c., V., 161.

of course betrayed to his vigilant enemy, and no act of grace was likely to benefit the exile this side the grave.

Mr. Morice returned to his children and maintained an active correspondence with his father-in-law, as well as held secret communication between him and some of his friends in England.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Dear Mr. Morice, Paris, February $\frac{8}{19}$, 1730-31.

The packet that brought your letter of the 1st did not arrive till the 8th. An indisposition hindered me from writing to you the Saturday after. I am glad you performed your journey, and found the children so well. My blessing to them.

I have received the bill of 4,448 livres. Since remittances are so favourable, I wish you would send me 200 pounds more. Your news from Mr. Stert is very good; I hope he will go on till the whole debt is paid you. You are spoken of still more obligingly in other letters from the same person, who particularly thanks you for your intended services to a good boy of his acquaintance, which he reckons as done to himself. You cannot, I find, oblige him more than in assisting that gentleman in his money matters; and the sooner the better, for it is wanted. He complains that one of his agents has his head so full of other affairs that he neglects his; and I am apt to believe there is truth in the complaint.

The English dictionary is come at last, and I gave it to the Abbé who had desired it. When you send me the watch again (which I desire you would do as soon as conveniently you can), let the maker say under his hand what damage, if any, has been done to it; particularly whether the spring is changed. Pray transmit to me what you promised about obtaining the sign-manual. I am concerned to read in the prints that Lord Foley's second son is dead, and, if it might be permitted, would be glad to have my lord and lady know how sincere a part I take in the grief they must have on this occasion. I suppose it will quicken their resolutions of marrying Mr. Foley: I hope it will.

I suppose, ere this arrives, you will have seen your Twitten-

ham friend, and gently touched him upon the little mistake he made in the letter he wrote to you.

I have been in the apartment where you lay ever since the Wednesday after you left me, and found myself, upon the change of lodging, immediately better. And so I continued to mend till within these three or four days, when the gout seized me again in my right hand, so that I now use it with some difficulty. However, I hope it is going off again. I caught it, I suppose, by thinking myself better than I was, and not observing so exact a regimen with regard to my diet as I used to do; for I have taken no cold since I came into my new quarters, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. I have never once stirred out of them, nor shall, I believe, till the weather opens; so your berlin and horses lie unemployed. The mare is still upon my hands. I intend to make a present of her to any friend that wants one for a chaise, for I cannot get for her near the price she cost.

I will not send my services to your brother; but you know how much I thought myself obliged for the care he took to ship off Obby in your absence, and for the accounts he sent of him to you.

You have a thousand things to do after such an absence, therefore I shall trouble you no more at present; and, indeed, I am heartily wearied with writing this letter, for my hand pains me. Adieu!

If I do well and my gout goes off, it shall not be long before you hear again from me.*

Mr. Morice to Bishop Atterbury.

My honoured Lord, Westminster, February ¼, 1730-31.

Last post brought me your favour of the 14th, N.S., and I am sorry to find you have any remains of the gout still about you: it had used you bad enough before I came away, and I was in hopes you would not have heard any more of it for a long time; however, your writing shows it had not very much disabled your right hand. I now send you, according to your orders, another bill upon the same advantageous terms as the last for the value of £200 sterling. I have been in a constant hurry

* Atterbury Papers.

ever since I came over, and shall be so for some time to come; however, I have not neglected the affair recommended to me by the Knight* just before I left Paris, and I gave him some account of it in a letter under Mr. Waters's cover by the last post; and I believe he is made pretty easy for the present by the advance of five hundred pounds which a friend has made him, and in which I was instrumental. I have also done Salkeld some little service, and put his affairs in the way he could wish. I am glad the English dictionary is at last arrived, after a journey of many months. Pray, did it come alone? It ought to have been attended with many other things. The Bible, I am this day told, could not be got ashore, and that it is come back again; but several other books and papers must have miscarried if you have not received them. Your watch is under the maker's hands, and the moment it is put into good order I shall endeavour to send it you, together with an account of what damage it had received. I have not forgotten what I promised to transmit about the sign-manual; but I have not had sufficient leisure to turn over half my papers. As soon as ever I meet with it you shall certainly have it.

I have by accident missed seeing our Twickenham friend. Letters have passed between us with much friendship, and we both want to meet. I hope it will not be long first, though the weather has been so bad that it has confined everybody at home. I find the season has been as rough with you at Paris. Pray take due care of your health, and fail not every fine day to exercise the berlin and horses, and do yourself good by taking the air. As to the mare, I am sorry she proves such a burthen; but if she fetches half the money given for her, you will be no great loser; the hire of a horse, only for a few weeks, would have cost more. Pray, when you write, make my compliments where I desire they may be well received. Mr. Stert, you see, is much my friend; and when you have an opportunity of sending that way I wish he, and everybody there of my acquaintance, might know the due sense I have of their favours.

I am just returned from the City, where I have been all day upon business, and it is now so late that the postman calls for this letter, which I must therefore finish, and subscribe myself, &c.

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* Sir Redmond Everard.

My two daughters, who are now at home, desire their grandpapa's blessing, and send their duty.*

The reference to Voltaire in the next communication, indicates the degree of intimacy the Bishop had contracted with this eminent man of letters, doubtless through their mutual friend Thiriot. The infidel philosopher was not likely to appreciate the Protestant prelate.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, February $\frac{5}{16}$, 1730–31.

Dear Mr. Morice,

This comes chiefly for the sake of the two enclosed, which I am desired to transmit to you. I had one at the same time for the same purpose from both of them. I do not like the employing you to take the remittance out of Arbuthnot's and put it into another French banker's hands whom you know not. It is odious in itself and useless to the Duke [of Ormonde], who can be no otherwise effectually served but by remitting the money immediately to Spain; nor can you well upon any other foot apply to the humourous gentleman; for how know you but the new person proposed may insist upon terms as disadvantageous to the Duke as those which he now submits to? I shall say something of this kind myself in answer to my letters, to prepare them a little for what you will afterwards more fully explain in yours to them. H[utcheson] would rave to hear of its being taken out of Arbuthnot's hands, on any other condition than that of saving so much money by making but one return; and, therefore, I can by no means advise your moving or meddling in it on the foot proposed.

The principal person has written no letter to me since without mentioning your kindness to the Knight, so that matter I see sits much at his heart; and you would please him much could you do anything to purpose in it.

Pray forget not to vindicate me, as publicly as you can, about Voltaire's mentioning me in his preface. I have done it here myself, and so loudly that I believe he will scarcely venture to visit me any more.

* Atterbury Papers.

I desire you, also, to tell H[utcheson] (and others) what you know to be true in relation to the Duke of Ormonde's leaving England, and the advice I constantly gave to the contrary, that I may not suffer under so false and groundless an aspersion.* You have wherewithal effectually to do it. There is an end, I believe, of that Duke's intended journey to France, for he will be so well received whither he is going as not to be able to insist on his first proposal. If that be the case Hall will leave him, and then, if you know any discreet clergyman of character who would be glad to supply his room, it would be a kindness to the Duke to recommend one, and no unkindness to the clergyman if otherwise not well employed—for the Duke's salary is considerable; and if a man of temper, good conduct, and prudence, the Duke will pay him all manner of regard, and by little and little let him into his confidence as he has done Hall. And it will not be amiss for you to have one you have obliged about the Duke's person; for I see plainly that the Duke is already so well disposed towards you that, should anything happen to him that has the disposal of his affairs, you are the person he would choose to trust to; and whenever he comes home, if you keep up your acquaintance by doing him little services, you will certainly find your account in it.

Salkeld has received ten guineas here, in part for his translation, from the English bookseller. I know not how far further you undertook to serve him. The Knight, as I apprehend, is so pressed as not to be able to stir from Chatou till a supply comes. If, upon looking into the affair, you find that the money will be paid after some little delay, and tell me so, I will endeavour to bring him out of his straits by advancing it.

I wrote to you on Wednesday last by the post, desiring £250 more to be remitted, since it is so much to my advantage at present. I hear nothing from Mr. Dartford of late, nor am like to hear. You will send me his letter as you promised. Leblanc was again playing the rogue and threatening to put up a bill, but Cocque stopped him, and Skelton gave himself airs of concern and zeal on that occasion; so all is quieted till Arbuthnot arrives and brings the lease with him. When that will be I

* It is remarkable that this calumny was *revived* in the Irish House of Lords, when the claim of the Butler family to the Earldom of Ormonde was considered there.—W. M.

know not. I have never seen Lloyd or Bulkeley since you went. But something has happened of late in public affairs that may render me more welcome here than I have been, and by that means procure me the favour of their acquaintance again by the same order by which they withdrew themselves. If so, I shall be as shy in my turn as they have been.

I perceive by the public prints Kelly is getting out of prison, and suppose that was the reason of his pressing for a settlement. You will let me know how his affair stands, and what the mystery was of Mrs. K.'s retirement. This court seems to be in a way of preparing matters for a rupture with yours. Adieu! Blessing to the children.—F. R.

Pray enquire a little about a proper valet de chambre, for I know not how soon I may be obliged to part with my present; and let me know when you have one in your eye that is sober, gentle, and cleanly. You know I give 400 livres, which is great wages. He must be able to shave, and I wish he spoke French a little. I am very well.*

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, $\frac{\text{February 19,}}{\text{March 2,}}$ 1730–31.

My honoured Lord,

Yours of the 16th instant (N.S.) reached me safely, as every one you shall send me by the hands of Francia will. It brought me two enclosed letters. Since the gentleman who writes to me is not likely to change his habitation, but to continue longer where he is, I shall very soon discourse the new married man on the subject of the remittances, which ought to be put on a better footing; and I entirely agree with you that Mr. Hutcheson will never come into any alteration, so as to remove the business out of Arbuthnot's hands, but upon the footing of saving money by remittances directly from hence to the place where the gentleman resides. I shall not, therefore, mention the scheme of remitting by the way of Bordeaux. When I have concluded something with Mr. H., I shall answer the letters I have received; and I hope to satisfaction.

As to the Knight at Chatou, I have lately written to him, and a sum of money has been advanced which will extricate him out of his present difficulties, and make him easy for some time to

* Atterbury Papers.

come. I came at a lucky time to encourage the loan of the money, and for the future I hope the annuity will be paid pretty punctually: I am promised it shall.

The bearer is hurried away sooner than I expected, so I shall write less fully by him than I proposed. My intention of selling the office has been made known, and many persons are ready to treat with me. Some members of the Chapter of Westminster have also been sounded about it, and I flatter myself that I shall obtain their consent, towards which a handsome present for finishing the dormitory will not a little contribute.

I do not judge it, as yet, a proper time to apply for another sign-manual, on the footing I would have it. The great person [Walpole] to whom I had an intention of applying on that occasion, must grow into good humour before I attempt to ask such a thing of him. At present the rubs which he daily meets with in the House cannot fail galling him and ruffling his temper.

I am sorry Mr. Dartford is so silent, and surprised at your telling me that you are not likely to hear from him. I have not yet written to him from this side of the water; whenever I do, it will go under your cover for your perusal.

I have let Lord Foley know the concern you express for the loss of his son, and he takes it very kindly. His lordship is but in a bad way of health himself.

I have not yet seen our Twickenham friend. The weather has been such that it has prevented any journey into the country; but I will now very soon take a ride to him, for I hear he is out of order.

I shall take care to vindicate you on the head of Voltaire's quotation of you in his preface. This I have done in another matter to Mr. Hutcheson, who seems now to believe what is affirmed by the Knight's letter to me; and, as often as that subject falls into discourse, I shall certainly put that point in a true light.

Kelly is really very ill, and it is thought he cannot recover. Whenever I mention him, I shall call him Mr. Blunt, and I shall soon write to you further about him.

I am glad anything has happened of late in public affairs where you are, that may render your situation more agreeable to you, and bring the persons you mention to a right conduct.

The gentleman of my kindred, who took care to ship off my

brother Atterbury, is very much at your lordship's service, and sends his dutiful respects.

I add no more to this, for I shall send another letter this way. All the children are well, good, and dutiful, and beg your blessing.—I remain, &c.

I return you the gold repeating watch.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, $\frac{\text{February 19,}}{\text{March 2,}}$ 1730–31.

Dear Mr. Morice,

The letter I now enclose to you was enclosed to me in one from Chaton, which was expressed in such a manner that I really understood the Knight to have only sent me an open copy of what he had written to you; nor do I yet know whether he had any other meaning. Lest he should, I transmit the paper itself that he sent me, which, by the fairness of the hand, I believe might be intended for you.

You will speak to the provider of the two pieces of Burgundy, and let him know what sort of wine it is, and me what price you pay for it. Some papers of printed verses and a pamphlet or two came with the dictionary; but there is no trusting to booksellers to choose those things; they send what lies before them in their shop and upon their hands. I have the second bill upon Waters for 4,448 livres. There is a gentleman of my acquaintance on your side, by whom I hope the watch will come over, and whatever else you have to send me. Arbuthnot is not yet, that I hear of, returned from his travels. I have told S——n what happened to the English Bible. I suppose it is no great loss to him.

They talk here that you are upon the scent of a plot at home, and that the dismissing Lord Inverness is one of the grounds upon which you entertain the belief of it. All I can say in the case is that, if there be any such thing, I am no ways privy to it. I have not seen Lloyd since you saw him, though I have sent to enquire after him at his place of abode, which I hear he has new hung and furnished. When you know the mystery of his sister's motions you will impart it to me. I make use of the same conveyance I did as to the former; because I see the man is diligent, and believe him to be honest. My blessing to you and to the

* Atterbury Papers.

children. When W. comes I hope to hear from you on some articles omitted in yours. Adieu, dear Mr. Morice! F. R.

Sir P. R. is in good earnest going to Portugal.

What you desire about Stert and the people on that side shall be done. You are mentioned in every letter from those quarters.*

By this time Mr. Morice had made himself one of the most useful of the Jacobite agents, and, as such, was held in the highest estimation by the Duke of Ormonde. It is much to be regretted, however, that a misunderstanding arose between him and Pope. This did not in the slightest degree affect the poet's regard for the Bishop and his departed daughter, of whom he spoke with equal veneration and affection.

In the annexed correspondence it will be seen that the ex-plenipotentiary had returned to his old occupations and speculations to a certain extent, probably through the influence of the Duchess of Buckingham at Rome. He must have looked forward with intense gratification to the fulfilment of a wish he had expressed that his daughter's eldest child should visit him.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Dear Mr. Morice, Paris, March $\frac{17}{31}$, 1730-31. Late at night.

This moment the bringer comes to me with a packet, and tells me that he goes away to-morrow morning. I have company, and have time only to turn over the papers, and take out what belongs to you; but not time even to read what I transmit.

I expect in two or three days a private hand, and will write to you. I have had all yours—two by Williams, and one from Boulogne. I immediately despatched that for Spain. When you write to Dartford I desire to see nothing of it; take the direct way of conveyance by the W. that brings this, or the other W. But when you write to the Knight, at Chatou, I should be

* Atterbury Papers.

glad you would make me the conveyer of it. I cannot say that he is so grateful as he ought to be; for Williams tells me he mentions his obligations to nobody but Carte for what has been returned him.

This is no letter, but a note only. I have not time to write one, but will soon.*

The Bishop never wearied in his good offices for the incorrigible Wharton; but the Duke, having entered the military service of Spain, had thought proper to appear in arms before Gibraltar, and had been outlawed. Several attempts had been made by the English Government to induce him to abandon the cause of the Pretender; but he had rejected all conditional offers of pardon. The Bishop interested himself warmly to secure to him creditable means of subsistence; but, as will be seen in the next few lines, his case had become hopeless.

Paris, March ½, 1730–31.

Walter has been waiting all this morning to deliver the enclosed to Willemin, who went out before eight o'clock, and is not yet returned, and goes not (it seems) till this afternoon; though he told me last night the contrary, and put me into a needless hurry, in which I also continue for want of his giving me true notice of his motions. Nevertheless, I will add something to the enclosed.

I sent you a letter by M——en, which I hope you received. In it was enclosed one from our friend in Spain, begging your interposition on your side in behalf of the miserable Duke of Wharton. You will do what he desires, though I fear to little purpose. You have made him yours always by what you have already done for him; and I doubt not, but in three weeks' time, I shall have a letter from him to you desiring you to receive and transmit his quarterly payments. Your letter to him is a good, a reasonable, and an obliging one. What I send you for the future

* Atterbury Papers.

shall be by Fr——a, since you seem to place most confidence in him.

The Duke of Ormonde is invited to Rome; and though he is extremely loth to go, and declines it as much as possible, yet I believe go he will, though not perhaps till autumn. In the mean time Lord Marischal [George Keith], who is also invited, is actually going. These things everybody that knows them (as nobody here yet does) will be mightily pleased with.

I am glad Hutcheson is convinced at last; it is high time he should be. He has done me wrong a great while in his own thoughts, and in spreading the opinion among others. It is high time to make me amends. I see you are afraid to meet Pope, and easily guess at your reasons. I have mine while I almost despair of making up that matter,* since the prejudices conceived are so strong and so unlikely to be altogether removed.

I had my watch, but none of the news you promised me by the bearer. I have seen him little. Sir Redmond Everard has stolen him away from me; he likes Chatou, for there he has his bellyfull of wine, and there he has lived. In Kelly's matter you must do as you judge reasonable, but without settling of fixed annual pensions. Since you say that you cannot find the Duchess of Buckingham's letter, pray do not look any more for it. I am satisfied to believe the thing without having the evidence of it. You must not mention anything of the Duke of Ormonde's motions so as they may reach Hutcheson's ear; for, as they may not take place, so if they do, the news may make H. peevish and stop his hand.

I shall be glad to have what you say about Walpole proved true, but perhaps he has by this new treaty strengthened himself; for the day before yesterday an express came from Lyria to Castellare, that the treaty between the Emperor and England was sealed on the 16th, and that with Spain will probably follow. My neighbour Marquis begins this day to take down his hired furniture. When he will himself dislodge I know not. I am straitened in time, and afraid of losing the opportunity by Willemin; therefore blessing to you all; and adieu!—F. R.†

* It does not appear what the misunderstanding was, but the following letter proves that it occasioned no interruption of friendship; which, indeed, subsisted between Mr. Pope and Mr. Morice long after the Bishop's decease.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

The position of the Duke of Wharton grew more pitiable daily; but the warm-hearted prelate never forgot the zeal his Grace had shown in his service when it was dangerous to say anything in his favour, and never mentioned his name but with the most charitable considerateness. The Duke was now friendless and penniless in Spain, after, by unheard-of extravagance, having exhausted the patience of his friends in France, and made heavy demands upon their purses, especially that of Sir Redmond Everard; he contrived to find admission into a monastery at Tarragona, when in a deplorable state of health. The good fathers of St. Bernard did all they could for their penitent; that is, they carefully prepared him for death, which occurred on the 31st of May. They buried him with no more ceremony than they afforded a member of their own order. This, at the early age of thirty-two, was the end of the brilliant Duke of Wharton.

In the next letter the report respecting "our Twickenham friend" is highly honourable to him.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, $\frac{\text{March 25,}}{\text{April 5,}}$ 1731.

My honoured Lord,

Willemin is in as great a hurry here as he was at Paris, and does not give me time to write so fully as I could wish.

Our Twickenham friend spent a day with me last week. He has written to nobody about the accommodation you took in hand, and imagines no one else has influence enough to bring it about. The only letter he has written on the subject is that you received when I was at Paris. I need not tell you of the friendship and veneration he has for you; his regard is not at all

lessened by time or absence. Our discourse was full of you; nor was the memory of dear Mrs. Morice forgotten, for whom he had a vast value. He has no draft by him of the intended monument, so I must desire you to send me over that I left with you; and let it be accompanied with your own observations and corrections. I shall answer the letter about the poor Duke of Wharton's affairs very soon. There is no room to do anything for him.

I find the Marquis is preparing to quit his apartments, which I shall endeavour to come and take possession of as soon as I can bring my matters to bear. I have now prepared everything in readiness to treat for the sale of the office, and shall, I hope, in a week or two, find a purchaser.

The treaty, lately signed at Vienna, has given a new turn to the countenances of the courtiers; and Sir Robert Walpole looks full of good humour, and triumphs upon it. I shall probably make my application to him about the sign-manual very soon. The Parliament will not sit long, and just after the rising will, I believe, be a proper time to apply to him.

When I write to the Knight at Chatou,* it shall go to you open for your perusal. I have served him, whatever he imagines, and Carte owns it; for Mr. Allington, who before I came over gave Carte but a very cool reception, now behaves in a quite different manner; and the person who lent the £500 hesitated about it till I interposed. But, if the Knight thinks me of no use to him, I shall not much grieve: I am sure that I shall save a good deal of trouble by it.

The pamphlets and printed papers, which arrived after I came away, I must desire that you will forward to Mr. Dartford by the messenger who is going to him. The bookseller did not transmit them of his own head; I was desired to write for them, and did so accordingly. The English Bible is again sent over. If it reaches you, you will let me know it. Arbuthnot is a very strange fellow to detain your letters so long. He will not be a little vexed at a certain remittance being taken out of his hands: he well deserves it.

I have this day taken my eldest girl from school, who is a very well-disposed child, and has a good deal of her mother's

* Sir Redmond Everard.

likeness. She is overjoyed at the thoughts of visiting you. She sends you her duty, and by the bearer goes a silk purse of her own work, of which she begs your acceptance.

Willemin now calls for my letter. I shall therefore add no more, only that Père Courayer, who is with me, desires to be remembered to you. I send you the letter I have written in a hurry to her Grace of Buckingham, open, that you may see it. You have my seal by you, with which to seal it. If anything is improper in it, pray strike it out.—I am, &c.*

There is no trace of the intended expedition announced by the spy in the secret correspondence maintained between the Bishop and his son-in-law. There is only an intimation from the former that his position in Paris had been rendered more agreeable. He longed to see his grandchildren: one of them had sent him an acceptable remembrance. At first he wanted Mr. Morice to bring all of them; but, with his usual consideration, confined his wishes to the elder ones, who would be more able to bear the journey. Their father had sold his employment; the donation of £500 to the improvements of Westminster School had, as he had anticipated, gained the good-will of the Chapter; and all was arranged for a visit to Paris in the autumn. Before he departed from Westminster he received the following:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, $\frac{\text{July 22,}}{\text{August 2,}}$ 1731.

Dear Mr. Morice,

The public prints inform me that you have resigned your office, and will be here some time in August. This letter therefore will reach you before you set out. It is to tell you that Walter and I have parted; so that I cannot well perform the intended journey to Calais, having now nobody to take proper

* Atterbury Papers.

care of me on the road. I had written to Calais for lodging and a chaise, but must not now think of the journey; though my health would, I hope, have held out well enough if other accidents had been favourable. I must be contented, therefore, to see so many of the children only as you can bring with you to Paris; and it will be a most welcome sight to me. God send you and them safe to the end of your journey!

I will make a hard shift without a valet de chambre till you bring over one with you; for here no English servant of that kind can be procured, and such an one I must have. God bless you and yours! Forget not what I have written for, particularly a quantity of Daffy's Elixir. I expect to see you so soon that I will now add no more but that I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Paris, $\frac{\text{July 28,}}{\text{August 8,}}$ 1731.

Dear Mr. Morice,

Having written to you so often, and so lately, I doubted whether I should trouble you with an acknowledgment of yours of July $\frac{19}{30}$. Nevertheless, since some of mine may not have reached you, I send this after them; the last I hope that I shall write to you before I see you. Walter being gone from me, and some symptoms of the gout having seized me, I dare not venture on the Calais journey as I told you, which I am sorry for; because I would willingly have excused the two youngest children from travelling so far, backwards and forwards, as they must do in order to see me. I could wish they would not set out till toward the end of this month, your style, that they may have the more likelihood of temperate weather going and returning. I can easily check my desires of seeing you and them when there would be manifest inconvenience and danger in hastening your journey. When you come, you will bring with you a valet de chambre to supply Walter's room—some sober, handy fellow that can shave, and of a better temper than him I have parted with. I am now without one, and poor George supplies my want in that case somewhat awkwardly. Should the fit of the gout I at present apprehend come on, I should still have more need of such a servant.

I have written to you to bring tea, linen, plate, and such other

* Atterbury Papers.

little utensils as you know I have not, and are fit for such a family as ours will be when joined. I wrote also for Daffy's Elixir, two or three maps, and a late edition of "Horace," by one Wade, I think, which a French gentleman here has desired me to procure for him; and if any of the books lately printed on your side are sent to you by the gentleman I employed for that purpose, you will allow them a place in your baggage. I know not the character of the Bishop of Lichfield's* "Pieces in Defence of the Gospel Miracles." If they are in good esteem, pray bring them along with you.

I have seen the three angry pamphlets occasioned by a late Craftsman. There are those who take care that Paris shall not want such curiosities; and somehow or other, after having gone through several hands, they happen to reach me. The article of 1,600 odd pounds, mentioned in one of these pamphlets, was news to me. Methinks the pay was not proportioned to the service. The gentleman employed could, I believe, scarcely find a precedent for what was done in all the journals bestowed on him.†

The public prints had informed me of your parting with your office, for which step I suppose you had good reasons. Your next will bring me word, I hope, of your obtaining the sign-manual in such a way as may for the future be the least expensive to you. Had that matter been set in a true light at the first, I cannot but think it would have been complied with; and that no unnecessary addition would have been made to the great charge you must be at in coming to see me. If you now make the application intended, I persuade myself that it will succeed.

* Dr. Richard Smalbroke.—W. M. "Vindication of the Miracles," 2 vols., 1729–34. He had previously published "An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutension Edition of the New Testament."

† This alludes to Mr. Pulteney, "who defied the whole world to prove that he ever received anything from the Crown, *but* a present which his late Majesty made him of the Journals of Parliament." To which the *Free Briton*, No. 83, answered: "That this but cost the King £1,637 17*s.*, which was on the memorable occasion of drawing up (when Chairman of the Select Committee) the Report against the Bishop of Rochester." At another time, when Pulteney's opposition to Walpole's administration was spoken of, Atterbury exclaimed, "Depend upon it, Pulteney is base metal. Of the two, Walpole is the honester man; for he adheres to his professions." Atterbury did not err in his judgment, for Pulteney proved false to his supporters, obtained a peerage, and lost all former weight and consideration.—W. M.

I desire you, as soon as you have your answer on that head, to impart it to me.

There may be other things beside those mentioned in this letter which I want, and about which I have before written to you, though they do not at present occur. If, upon reviewing my letters, you find any such, you will take notice of them, and provide accordingly.

You may, perhaps, when you arrive, find me actually under a fit of the gout, for some tendencies that way I perceive; but in other respects I am rather better in health than I used, or indeed than I ever hoped, to be.

Adieu, dear Mr. Morice! My blessing to you and to your children! F. R.*

The paragraph respecting Pulteney† deserves more than a passing notice. The exile had become acquainted with his relations with the Pretender, not only while he was in opposition to Walpole, but while he was assisting Walpole in his persecutions, pains, and penalties. James was aware that the Bishop had possession of damning evidence against Pulteney; and the reader will see presently how nervously fearful he was lest its publication should seriously affect the character of his secret and at this time influential agent.

But a pleasant truce from the onerous occupation of confounding the politics and frustrating the knavish tricks of his enemies had commenced. The gratification the Bishop found in the presence of his juvenile visitors must have been no ordinary enjoyment, though the girls could not fail to bring to him many touching memories of their mother. How they were received by that lady's friends in Paris

* Atterbury Papers.

† He had also been educated at Westminster and at Christ Church, Oxford.

may be imagined; and every one strove earnestly to make their stay in the French capital a holiday excursion never to be forgotten. Though the painful disorder from which Atterbury suffered incapacitated him from taking any active part in their amusements, their father or some friendly chaperone was always at hand to introduce them to everything in Paris worthy of their notice. The treat therefore proved in every respect what their grandfather had designed it to be.

On all occasions when he was able, the Bishop maintained his communication with absent friends, especially with scholars and priests. It is far from uninteresting to observe how completely he could adapt himself to the particular taste or pursuit of his correspondent. As, for instance, in writing to an enthusiast in antiquities, he became as numismatic and archæological as could have been desired: but the individual he now addresses was a Roman Catholic priest resident in the focus of political intrigue, and had been communicative on topics upon which he appears to have been ill informed. The Bishop, with a proper amount of reserve, endeavours to set him right. Equally characteristic is his evident desire to speak well of the dead, however much the object may have taxed his charity.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE REV. MR. WILLIAMS.

Paris, November, 1731.

I thank you, sir, for both your letters; one of an elder date from Rome, the other from Albano of October the 10th, which I received two days ago. The account you give me of the medal, or coin, with the Triumvir's heads on it and the

cypher of Florus, the Mintmaster, on the reverse, is very agreeable news to me; and I must desire you to pursue that discovery as far as you can, and to obtain for me, if possibly you can, a draught of both sides of the coin. If Ficcoroni can procure from Count Waldeck, or it can be procured from the Cabinet of Parma, from the printed catalogue of that Cabinet, or any other collection, I will gladly pay what is requisite to obtain it. I have seen, as I told you, in England a brass coin with Augustus's head, after he was entirely possessed of the empire, with a flower on the reverse, and these words, or words like these, under it:—"LVCIVS FLORVS TRIVMVIR MONETALIS F." It is in my Lord Pembroke's collection. This gave me the hint for further enquiries. I cannot go to libraries here where the Parma catalogue may be found. You can more easily come at it where you are, and I pray you so to do; and to give yourself some trouble (if necessary) towards perfecting this discovery. I am not ignorant that they engraved better in Trajan's time than in the time of Augustus, and there is no doubt of the one of these being rarer than the other. But neither of these circumstances determine my value, which is proportioned to my esteem of the person represented; and therefore, if you have really a Cicero that may be depended upon as ancient, you will do me a pleasure to bestow it on me—I mean by letting me know what it cost, and giving me an opportunity of purchasing it from you.

I know Mr. Waddle, and should be glad to see what he says to prove the reality of that string of names from Fergus the First to Fergus the Second. I dare say, if Lord Marischal knew my desires in that respect, he would suffer a copy of the paper to be taken for me.

I will enquire into the truth of what you have been told about the late Duke of Wharton's papers, and you shall have an account of it. Your Irishman of Scotch extraction will, I believe, be found to have stretched a little in his narrative. They lay what things they please upon that poor Duke, who is gone. He had real faults enough: they need not load his memory with new ones. I thank you for all the other advertisements in your letter. You will find yourself utterly mistaken in one of them—the article from Spain; for the fleet, with the forces, is sailed, and Don Carlos has actually begun his journey.

I cannot enter into other particulars (for I am not a little indisposed), but I thank you heartily for all of them. If I did not comply with the request you made in the name of a good friend of mine, I have sent you my reasons; and I hope you and he are satisfied with them. I can do anything for my friends that becomes me to do, and they will not insist on what does not. This autumn my health has been various, nor have I been able to reap all the advantage I wished from this beautiful season. The winter that approaches will, I fear, deal worse with me, and every succeeding year (if I live to see any more) will bring new infirmities with it. I am come to a time of life when I can have no other expectations. Adieu, sir! and believe that, whatever changes may happen to me, there will be none in the desire I have to serve you always to the best of my power.

I am concerned for what you say of Mr. Forster's ill state of health. My service to him: he had a letter from me last post.*

Among the numerous flagitious libels upon the exile that were written for the gratification of his enemies, none gave him more concern than the attack which calumniated, in conjunction with him, his friends Smalridge and Aldrich, in regard to an alleged tampering with the MS. of Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion." Oldmixon was not an opponent Atterbury would have cared to notice, had not two of his dearest friends been maligned at the same time by the same hand. Having written a triumphant Vindication, he had it printed, and forwarded copies to a few of his associates in England whose good opinion he cherished. With one copy he wrote the following letter, the patriotic spirit of which shows how profoundly he felt his punishment:—

* Atterbury Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Paris, November $\frac{12}{23}$, 1731.

Dear Sir,

You will wonder to see me in print; but how could I avoid it? The dead and the living, my friends and my foes at home and abroad, called upon me to say something; and the reputation of an History, which I and all the world value, must have suffered had I continued silent. I have printed the Vindication here in hopes that somebody afterwards may venture to reprint it in England, notwithstanding the two frightening words at the close of it.* Whether that happen or not, it is fit *you* should have a sight of it, who I know will read it with some degree of satisfaction as it is mine; though it should have nothing else to recommend it. Such as it is—*Extremum hoc manus morientis habeto!* for that may well be the case, considering that within a few months I am entering into my seventieth year; after which, even the healthy and the happy cannot much depend upon life, and will not, if they are wise, much desire it. Whenever I go, you will lose a friend, who loves and values you extremely, if in my circumstances I can be said to be lost to any one when dead more than I am already whilst living.

I expected to have heard from you by Mr. Morice, and wondered a little that I did not; but he owns himself in a fault for not giving you due notice of his motions. It was not perhaps amiss that you forbore writing to me on a head wherein I promised more than I was able to perform. Disgraced men fancy sometimes that they preserve an influence, where, when they endeavour to exert it, they soon see their mistake. I did so, my good friend, and acknowledge it under my hand. You sounded the coast and found out my error, it seems, before I was aware of it; but enough on this subject.

What are they doing in England to the honour of letters? and particularly what are *you* doing?

Ipse quid audes?
Quæ circumvolitas agilis thyma?

Do you pursue the Moral Plan† you marked out, and seemed sixteen months ago so intent upon? Am I to see it perfected

* His name.

† The Essay on Man.

ere I die? and are you to enjoy the reputation of it while you live? or do you rather choose to leave the marks of your friendship, like the legacies of a will, to be read and enjoyed only by those who survive you? Were I as near you as I have been, I should hope to peep into the manuscript before it was finished. But, alas! there is, and will ever probably be, a great deal of land and sea between us. How many books have come out of late in your parts, which you think I should be glad to peruse? Name them: the catalogue I believe will not cost you much trouble. They must be good ones indeed to challenge any part of my time, now I have so little of it left. I, who squandered whole days heretofore, now husband hours when the glass begins to run low, and care not to misspend them on trifles. At the end of the lottery of life, our last minutes, like tickets left in the wheel, rise in their valuation. They are not, perhaps, of so much worth in themselves as those which preceded; but we are apt to prize them more, and with reason. I do so, my dear friend, and yet think the most precious minutes of my life are well employed in reading what you write. But this is a satisfaction I cannot much hope for, and therefore must betake myself to others which are less entertaining.

Adieu, dear sir! and forgive my engaging with one,* whom you, I think, have reckoned among the heroes of "The Dunciad." It was necessary for me either to accept of his dirty challenge, or to have suffered in the esteem of the world by declining it. My respects to your mother.

I send a paper† for Dean Swift, if you have an opportunity, and think it worth while, to convey it.

My country at this distance seems to me a strange sight: I know not how it appears to you who are in the midst of the scene, and yourself a part of it: I wish you would tell me. You may write safely to Mr. Morice by the honest hand that conveys this, and will return into these parts before Christmas. Sketch out a rough draft of it, that I may be able to judge whether a return to it be really eligible, or whether I should not, like the chemist in the bottle, upon hearing Don Quevedo's account o Spain, desire to be corked up again. After all, I do and must love my country with all its faults and blemishes; even that part

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* Oldmixon. † The Vindication.

of the constitution which wounded me unjustly, and itself, through my side, shall ever be dear to me. My last wish will be, like that of Father Paul, "Esto perpetua!" and, when I die at a distance from it, it will be in the same manner as Virgil describes the expiring Peloponnesian:—

Sternitur ———
——— et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

Do I still live in the memory of my friends, as they certainly do in mine? I have read a good many of the paper squabbles about me, and am glad to see such free concessions on that head; though made with no view of doing me a pleasure, but merely of loading another.*

I am, &c. †

His grandchildren remained to brighten his gloomy exile; but one caused him intolerable anxiety, in consequence of having been attacked by a disease then generally fatal to female beauty when not so to female life. He wrote to his friend at Rome the distressing intelligence. The note also contains a few political allusions, as well as a reference to some alleged miraculous manifestations which Father Williams had brought under his attention. Though the Protestant prelate records his incredulity with his customary considerateness, he takes care to state nothing that shall offend his correspondent's prejudices.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE REVEREND MR. WILLIAMS.

Paris, $\frac{\text{November 29,}}{\text{December 10,}}$ 1731.

Sir,

I have illness in my family, and am myself far from well. Though a daughter of Mr. Morice has the small-pox (which I never had) I cannot quit the house; but must risk the danger, if there be any to a man of my years and infirmities. The

* Sir Robert Walpole. † Atterbury Papers.

solicitude I am under must make my letter shorter. I thank you for Mr. Waddle's paper, which I have communicated to Mr. Innes,* who does not seem at all alarmed by it. I shall be glad to receive the Intaglio you mention from the author of the paper, who I suppose will soon be here.

The intelligence you received and communicated to me some time ago about a box of papers stopped in Spain, and about the contents of those papers, is true. It was thought proper to detain them in safe and honourable hands, from whence they would be sure to reach him for whom they were designed. There is a strange mixture of things in them.

Mr. Morice returns his service to you. I hope you will perfect the discovery you have made of the medal of the Triumvir's heads, and send me the account of it as fully as I have desired.

There are strange things done at St. Medard. However, my faith is not strong enough to pronounce them to be miracles. They even decline in my opinion since the violent agitations that appear in all those that frequent the tomb for the cure of their maladies. I am at a loss what to say or think of that matter.

I enclose a paper† for Charles Radclyffe,‡ Lord Derwentwater's uncle, in remembrance of the acquaintance I had with him at Brussels. Pray be so kind as to find him out, and have it delivered to him. The weather is excessively cold here; and I am expecting every moment to be laid up. Well or ill, I am, &c. §

Dr. Lewis Atterbury never forgave his brother the refusal of the Archdeaconry. The same spirit which led him to contest his father's will induced him towards the close of his life to have his own will

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* Innes.

† The Vindication.

‡ Whose elder brother, James Radclyffe, Earl of Derwentwater, was beheaded in 1716, and who himself fell a similar sacrifice to his principles in 1746. Their fate excited much commiseration and regret, from the many estimable qualities they possessed.—W. M.

§ Atterbury Papers.

drawn up in such a manner as should deprive the Bishop of his right of succession to the property. He died at Bath on the $\frac{9}{21}$ of October, and it was ascertained by his testamentary papers that he had taken a most unbrotherly advantage of the exile. As soon as the latter had cognizance of this, he wrote to his former solicitor to the following effect:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. JOSEPH TAYLOR.

Paris, December $\frac{3}{14}$, 1731.

Sir,

You will be surprized, and perhaps a little frightened, to receive a letter from me after almost nine years' interruption of our correspondence. But the occasion on my side is as extraordinary as the attempt, and will I hope excuse it. You cannot help being written to by me, nor is there any crime in it if you reveal to a Minister of State the first step of our intercourse; as I desire you would for my sake, as well as your own, in order to your obtaining leave in form to make answer to what I now write, or shall hereafter write, on the same subject. It is of such consequence to me to have your advice and assistance in an affair of law, now depending, that I shall willingly be at the charge of a sign-manual towards procuring it.

Sir, my elder and only brother, lately dead, has dealt more cruelly with me than the Act of Parliament did; for that left me the small temporal fortune I then possessed, or might afterwards justly expect, in order to keep me abroad from contempt and starving. But my brother, taking advantage from my circumstances, which he knew would render it difficult for me to question whatever he should do, has endeavoured to withdraw what the Act itself intended I should enjoy; and to strip me by an unjust will he has made of the patrimony which by law belongs to me.

A small estate in land* which he possessed, was, in default of issue *male* from him, entailed on me by my father. My

* Of about £250 per annum, at Great and Little Houghton, in Northamptonshire.—W. M. It consisted of something more than two hundred and eighty-six acres, let to four different tenants at a rental of £251.—Atterbury Papers.

brother has left no other issue but a daughter of his daughter, who has a good portion assigned her, and inherits beside a good estate from her mother. To all this he has added by his will* the bequest of that land which my father, in such an event, gave to him only for life and to me after his death; and to alleviate and cover this injustice he has given me an hundred pounds in this will, and has mentioned me there with esteem and dearness, after never having shown any instance of either since I was abroad, or assisted me with one shilling out of his fortune at a time when he did not know but I might have stood in the utmost need of it.

I am under no obligation, therefore, to suffer the unrighteous disposition he has made of an estate, given me by my father, to take place if you shall find that my title to it is good, and will allow me your assistance in order to assert it. I am persuaded you will find no obstruction towards procuring leave for this purpose, it being matter of common humanity and justice, and within the intention of the Act.

As soon as you have obtained such leave, I will hope to hear from you; and in the meantime have desired Mr. Morice to do what can be done at this distance towards laying the proper evidences and instructions before you. He may be of more use in furnishing these upon his return than he can be now; however, I am not willing to lose any time when I have so little of it left; for my seventieth year is (as you know it is) near approaching. Haste in this case is requisite, if I hope to be the better for what my father designed me, and thought he had, without wronging anybody, conveyed to me in due form of law. If he did so, and it really belongs to me, there is no man of worth and honour who will think it unfit that I should be put by your assistance into a condition of obtaining it.

Be pleased to make the steps that are proper in this case, and to add this obligation to the others you have formerly laid upon, sir, your, &c.†

The friends who desired to maintain their communications with the exile, avoided the heavy penalty they might incur if they attempted this without a

* Dated March 16, 1730.—W. M. † Atterbury Papers.

sign-manual, by addressing his son-in-law, who was then with him. Pope availed himself of this subterfuge, and so did many others, among them the Bishop's equally zealous friend "Honest Shippen," * to whom Mr. Morice had let Holland House during his absence. His letter relates partly to the will of the fashionable physician who had been so liberal a benefactor to Oxford, and partly to the false statement lately published by Oldmixon.

WILLIAM SHIPPEN, ESQ., TO MR. MORICE.

Holland House, January $\frac{6}{17}$, 1731-2.

Dear Sir,

After wishing you, and all with you, many happy and prosperous years, this comes to answer your questions concerning Radcliffe's benefaction. There is no more in the delay than the obstinacy of two of the Doctor's trustees. He unluckily left an even number, four—Mr. Bromley, Sir George Beaumont, Mr. Bacon, and Keck, a scrivener. Mr. Bromley and Sir George Beaumont have for some time been so desirous to begin the work that they have even quarrelled with the other two, and contrived an application to the Court of Chancery in order to have compelled them either to execute or to resign their trust. But the Chancellor made a silly evasive order, and would do nothing effectual. The two perverse men (who are much censured by all the well-wishers to the benefaction) say that they will comply with Mr. Bromley and Sir George when Mrs. Rainshaw (the Doctor's sister), who hath £1,000 per annum during life, dies. She is indeed very old; but I do not see why the scrivener (who is old, too, and bedridden) should hope to survive her. However ridiculous it may seem, this is the true state of the case.

As to the other affair, I do not find that anybody hath yet undertaken to write a preface; nor can it be done, as it ought to be, till Lord Clarendon's circumstances will permit him, or

* I love to pour out all myself as plain
As honest Shippen, or downright Montaigne.—POPE.

his relations, to communicate the MS. wherein Hampden's character is written in his grandfather's own hand. G. Clarke hath seen this MS., and had it a long time in his custody. It is not the large MS., from which the History was printed, but a small one relative to it. The large MS. is chiefly the handwriting of one Mr. Shaw, who was secretary to the Chancellor, and his amanuensis when he had the gout and grew infirm. Mr. Shaw's son (a worthy gentleman) is now living, and can prove his father's hand and many other things relating to the genuineness of the printed history. When the Parliament meets, I shall see everybody concerned about this matter, and may perhaps be more exactly informed of all particulars. But this is the best account I can give you at present; and shall add no more on this subject, only to transcribe a paragraph (in return for that which you copied in your last) out of a letter just now come to my hands, viz. :—"One thing it is wondered has escaped the observation of Bishop Sprat, his successor Doctor Aldrich, &c., which is, that the character applied to Hampden is not Cinna's, but Catiline's, in Tully's Third Oration against that conspirator." I have Tully's works in Norfolk Street; and, when I remove from hence thither (which will be in a day or two), I will examine into the truth of my correspondent's remark.

I will not trouble you with any compliments for the long use I have had of this house; but it is fit I should at least thank you for it at parting, and I heartily do so. Mr. Edwardes hath been two or three times to see me, and I intend to be present at his trial on the 27th instant; which I believe he will take as a civility, though he seems to be under no manner of apprehensions about the success of his cause.—I am, &c.

My wife sends you her thanks likewise; and you may be assured that her good wishes always attend you and those with you. I believe the conversion of the gentleman you mention* is occasioned rather by political than religious views; and yet I cannot guess what present or future advantages they propose to themselves by it.†

A letter from the Bishop's hand will make the

* Lord Inverness. He had recently entered the Church of Rome.

† Atterbury Papers.

reader acquainted with the condition to which he was reduced in the winter of 1731–2. His son-in-law and grandchildren had left him; the young ladies he must have been very loth to send away. Indeed the desolate old man was only reconciled to the loss of their society by that sense of duty which invariably directed him under such trials. They did not leave him till he had become convalescent. His correspondent, in this instance, was a lady, but her name has been suppressed: it was probably the Duchess of Buckingham:—

Madam, Paris, Feb., 1731–2.

Had I not been for some time ill, very ill, almost to death, I had not so long deferred acknowledging the favour of your letters of January 7th and Feb. 2; for though you mention three, those two only since I wrote last to you have come to my hands. They were both of them very welcome, as everything from you, madam, at all times is, particularly in sickness, which makes one receive assistance from present and reflect on absent friends with more tenderness. Your brother * was remarkably kind to me in the case, came on purpose from St. Germains to be with me during the worst of my illness, and stayed in the house day and night, for above a week, till it began to decline; and then he and Mr. Morice, with his little family, left me. Both went away from hence on Saturday last, one to St. Germains, and the other to England. Since then I have been recovering but slowly, and I am now, thank God, able to tell my distant friends, under my own hand, that though I am not yet well, I hope in a little time to be so.

The partridges, madam, were good, and came perfectly sweet. Though at a time when such relishing things were forbid me, and when indeed I had little appetite for them, I ventured to taste these, in spite of rules, and preserved a couple of them by potting, that I might, when I grew better, taste them more freely, as I shall do ere long.

* The Duke of Berwick?

I hope your situation, madam, is agreeable to you; at least you do not complain of want of health in either of your letters. If you have had no great occasion for that complaint this winter, you will still have less, I hope, now the fine weather is approaching.

I wish you, madam, that and all manner of happiness, and am, &c.

I made your compliments as you directed to Mr. Morice, who desires me to return his. Miss Molly grew much healthier and fatter by the small-pox. Miss Charlotte ailed nothing all the time she was with me. They are returned for English education, which in my mind is preferable to that of France.

A communication to her grace would be guardedly written; and although the writer had other female correspondents, it is doubtful whether he would have added the concluding items of intelligence respecting his granddaughters, except to the earnest and affectionate friend of their dead mother.*

Early in the years 1731–2, the exile became satisfied that he was drawing near his end, and grew solicitous for the safety of his MSS., should death overtake him before the return of his son-in-law, who had gone to England. He caused application to be made to Cardinal de Fleury, requesting that in case of his dissolution during the absence of Mr. Morice, the Government officer should immediately place seals upon his effects. The Garde des Sçeaux promised acquiescence to Mr. Francis Bulkeley, and the Cardinal did the same. Having, as he thought, secured his private correspondence from the eager curiosity of the Walpoles, he addressed himself to a subject that

* The only son of the kind Duchess died at Florence in the autumn of this year, in his sixteenth year. He left a will, in which he desired to be buried privately in the garden of Buckingham House.

had evidently produced a strong impression on his mind—the public renunciation of the Church of England by Lord Inverness. The letter is singularly characteristic :—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

My Lord, Paris, February, 1731-2.

About the beginning of December last I wrote to your lordship, and sent you a paper which I had lately printed here. To that letter, though your lordship used to answer all mine without delay, I had no manner of return. I heard indeed, soon after I had written to you, of what had happened on St. Andrew's day last at Avignon, but I did not think that a change of religion made any change in the forms of civility; and therefore I still wondered at your silence. Perhaps a reflection on your not having consulted me in that great affair, though I was the only Bishop of the Church of England on this side the water, might make you shy of writing to me on any other account, and willing to drop the correspondence.

You may remember, my lord, that, when you first retired from the K. at Pisa, and when you afterwards left Rome and went to Avignon—on both these occasions, you opened to me by letter the reason of your conduct, and gave me an opportunity by that means of expressing my thoughts to you in the manner I used always to do, that is, frankly and without reserve. In this last step, my lord, you have acted far otherwise; and yet in this, I had most reason to expect that you would not merely have *informed* me of what had passed, but even *consulted* me before you took your full and final resolution. My character and course of studies qualified me much better for such an application than for passing my judgment on matters of state and political managements. If your lordship entertained any doubts concerning your safety in that religion wherein you had been bred, I might perhaps, upon your proposing them, have been so happy as to have solved them; and shown you that, whatever reason you might have, as to this world, for quitting the communion you were of, you had none, you could have none, as to another.

Since you were not pleased to give me an occasion of writing

to you at this time, I have determined to take it; and to pursue my former method of telling you, with such *plainness* as perhaps nobody else will, what the world says of your late conduct. My lord, they, who speak of it most softly and with greatest regard to your lordship, say that it is a *coup de desespoir;* and that your lordship, perceiving the prejudices of the K.'s Protestant subjects to run high against you, so that you would never be suffered to be about his person and in the secret of his affairs with their consent, was resolved to try what could be done by changing sides, and whether you might not at long run be able to gain by one party what you had lost by another. They represent you as thinking the K.'s restoration not soon likely to happen; and therefore as resolved, since you were obliged to live in exile in Roman Catholic countries, to make the best of your circumstances, and recommend yourself, as much as you could, to the natives; that so, if his cause should prove desperate for a time, you might find your way back again into his service when it would be no longer prejudicial to his affairs: and they quote some words, which they say fell from your lordship, to this purpose—"That since you saw nothing was likely to be done for the K., you thought it high time to take care of your soul." I hope in God they belie you; since it gives us, who are at a distance from the secret of affairs, but a very discouraging prospect of the K.'s restoration, of the probability or improbability of which you, my lord, must be allowed a more competent judge: and withal, such a saying carries in it something more dishonourable to your lordship, since it implies that, had the restoration been near and probable, you would not have troubled your head about matters of religion, but suffered your *soul* to shift for itself.

They, who thus interpret your last step, proceed further, and say that you intended by that means, if you could not find your way again into the general and open management of the K.'s affairs, at least to have that part of them attached to you which related to foreign Princes' Courts, to whom what you had done must have rendered you grateful; and thus, while your brother-in-law should have the care of the domestic correspondence and you of all the rest, the whole would have run in proper channels. They affirm that, even upon your first coming back to the K. from Pisa, there was a general expectation at Rome, encouraged

by the Court of Rome itself, that you would then have declared yourself a Roman Catholic, and that it was prevented only by the representations made at that time to your disadvantage from the K.'s friends, which occasioned your abrupt retreat to Avignon; and they suppose some private audiences you had at that time tended to this point: *that* happened then to be defeated, and the declaration itself was postponed to a more convenient opportunity. This, indeed, clashes a little with the former scheme mentioned. God forbid I should suppose either of them! I do not, I merely relate them; and, having done so, leave it to your lordship to make such use of them as you in your wisdom shall judge proper.

There are others, my lord, that reflect on your conduct still more unkindly, and put it in a more odious light. There are those (nor are they few) who are so prejudiced against you as to suppose (for none of them have pretended to prove) that you have played the same game as my Lord Mar* did—had a secret understanding with the Ministers on the other side, and received the reward of it; these men, being (as they are) your professed enemies, stick not to say that, since you could not any longer derive merit to yourself from your management near the K., you were resolved to do as much mischief as you could to his affairs at parting by an action which naturally tended to raise in the minds of his Protestant subjects such disadvantageous opinions of him as I need not explain, such as of all others will have the greatest influence towards hindering his restoration. They consider your lordship as one that has studied your master's temper, and perfectly knows it—as one that never did anything but what you judged would be perfectly agreeable to him—nothing but with his privity and by his direction. In this light, my lord, when they see what you have lately done, it is no wonder if they draw strange inferences from it, and impute to your lordship views which your heart, I hope, abhors. But they will certainly persist in that way of thinking if they find that your lordship has still credit with the K., and a share in his confidence; and *this*, even at this distance, my lord, will in a little time appear to watchful observers.

They say it is a sure rule not to do that which our worst

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* He died the following year.

enemies, provided they are wise and understand their own interest, would above all things have us do; and yet your lordship, they think, has acted after that manner on the present occasion, there being nothing that could either gratify your enemies more, or displease your friends (such I mean as are also enemies and friends to the royal cause) than the step you have taken; and they will not believe but that, if you had meant the K. as well as you ought to do, this single consideration would have restrained you. They urge that the difficulties, into which the K. is brought by this means, are exceedingly great. Let him be ever so well persuaded of your abilities, integrity, and zeal, he yet cannot make a free use of them without exciting new jealousies on very tender points, and in very honest hearts, where one would wish that they might by all possible means be allayed. Let him have been ever so much a stranger to what passed at Avignon till it was over, he cannot yet prudently declare himself on that head, because of the inconveniences with which such a declaration in his present circumstances will be attended on the one side, as his total silence will be liable to misconstructions on the other: every way this affair will perplex him with respect to the different interests he has separately to manage. Abroad, if he were thought to be at the bottom of it, it might do him no harm; at home, it certainly will, and there his great interest lies, to which he is above all others to attend. Nor will the judgment be passed on this occasion in haste, since it cannot be formed on any thing now given out, but will depend on future facts and appearances.

I have made little mention all this while of what your lordship may think a full answer to all these reflections and refinements, that you have followed a motion of conscience in what you have done, and depended on that for your justification. It may, my lord, and I hope will, justify you before God if you sincerely acted on that principle; but, as for men, the misfortune is (and I beg your lordship's pardon for venturing to tell you so) that not one person, whom I have seen or heard of, will allow what you have done to be the effect of conviction. In that case, they say, you would have proceeded otherwise than merely by advising with those into whose communion you were hastening; especially since it is supposed that your lordship has not spent much time in qualifying yourself for the discussion of such points by a perusal of books of controversy. Men, they say, of

sincerity and truth are often kept in a religion, to which they have been accustomed, without inquiring strictly into the grounds of it; but seldom any man, who has a sense of piety and honour, quits a religion, in which he has been educated, without carefully considering what may be said for and against it. Men indeed may be sometimes enlightened and convinced of all at once by an over-ruling impression from above. But, as these cases are exceedingly rare, so I need not tell your lordship that in yours, they who object to your proceeding are by no means disposed to make you such allowances. They think that, had you aimed only at satisfying your conscience, you might have done what you did in a more private manner, and enjoyed the benefit of it in secret, without giving a public and needless alarm; but, when you chose St. Andrew's day for entering on the work, Christmas day for completing it, and the Pope's Inquisitor at Avignon to receive your abjuration, they conclude that you intended to make an *éclat*, and to give notice to all the world of your embracing a different communion; which might be useful indeed with regard to some political views, but could not be necessary toward satisfying those of mere conscience.

These, my lord, are the reflections which have been made in various conversations, where I was present, on the subject of what lately passed at Avignon. Many of them cannot be more unwelcome to you than they are to me, who suffer in a cause which such steps are far from promoting. I am mortified, my lord, to see it thus go backward instead of forward; and have a right to express my own free sense in such a case, though I have in this letter chiefly represented the sense of others. Losers must have leave to speak; and therefore I make no apology for the freedom I have taken. You seem to have approved it on other occasions, and will not, I hope, blame it on this, when it is equally intended for your information and service. At the distance we are now, and are likely to continue, I know not how to offer a better proof of the regard with which I am, &c.*

The numerous severe attacks from which the Bishop had recovered, had left his frame less capable of bearing others; but such was the elasticity of his mind, that, directly bodily pain had passed away, he seemed

* Atterbury Papers.

to revive to an unimpaired sense of vigour. Although he had withdrawn from the administration of the affairs of the Pretender, the obduracy of Walpole in preventing his return from exile, or the pertinacity of James in seeking his assistance, caused him to give as much attention as he could to his hopeless cause. At the commencement of March he penned a letter of advice to that intractable personage, and on the 3rd retired to rest, expressing congratulation on the improvement in his health. He woke about an hour after midnight in such acute pain, that he rang for assistance and sent for a doctor. In less than two hours he was a corpse.

The event appears to have been totally unexpected by, and caused the greatest possible excitement among, his associates, who despatched hurried announcements of it to Rome. Mr. Dicconson wrote on the 9th—

> No doubt His Majesty will be extremely troubled at his death, at least we all are here that knew him, and knew how capable he was of serving the King; for I believe there are few men in the three kingdoms, if any, that could equal him for quickness of wit, knowledge of his country, and elegancy in words and writing, and with that intrepid in his temper, and most steady in his loyalty.

Mr. Salkeld thus communicates the distressing intelligence:—

> Our great and illustrious prelate, the Bishop of Rochester, that anchor of our hopes, that pillar of our cause, and that ornament of our Church and nation, is no more. On Tuesday morning last—*horresco et lachrymo referens*—in less than a quarter of an hour's struggle with death, he expired. It being between two and three in the morning when he died, he had nobody with him in those important moments but his

domestics. He went to bed the night before seemingly in very good health, after having writ several letters, and among the rest one to His Majesty. 'Tis a very remarkable circumstance that he died as he continually lived, and as he himself would have wished to die—with the pen, as it were, in his hand, in his master's service.

The family [the servants?], as soon as their surprise and confusion would give them leave, sent, according to my lord's intentions, for my Lord Sempill* and me, and we have remained in the house ever since, to render the last offices of duty to our deceased friend, and to wait for the arrival of Mr. Morice. Had we been called for a little sooner, or, indeed, had we not been deprived, as it were, of our faculties for some time through the violence of our grief and surprise, that overpowered us, we might have sent the news to the King our master by the post of that morning; but, in truth, we were so thunderstruck with the suddenness of the event—nor is it to be wondered at considering the greatness of the occasion—that we had not our reason or senses about us. His Majesty, I hope, will be so good as to make allowance for the extraordinary circumstances we were in, and not impute that to a defect in duty which was purely the effect of our consternation and astonishment.†

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* Then secretly with his son in the service of the English Government.

† Stuart Papers.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ATTERBURY PAPERS.

Intrigues to obtain the dead Prelate's Papers—Lord Waldegrave and the Under Secretary of State—Lord Sempill's Pretence—Arrival of Mr. Morice—Objection of James to Atterbury's Vindication—Pulteney Compromised—Final Distribution of the Papers—The English Government permit the Bishop's Coffin to be broken open, seize his MSS., and cause his Son-in-law to be taken into Custody—Vindictiveness to the Grave—The Interment in Westminster Abbey—Pope's Epitaph—Atterbury's Will—His Heir—Elegiac Poems—The Sempills Rewarded—An Apology for a Church of England Bishop—The Hanoverian Harem and the Hanoverian Cabinet—Court Records of George II. and Queen Caroline—Real Protestant Rule and a genuine English Sovereign.

Lord Sempill wrote to Rome acquainting James with the fact, that the deceased prelate had recently made him give a solemn promise, that in case of his sudden death he would take charge of his papers till the arrival of his son-in-law; and said, "this sacred trust shall be most faithfully and religiously discharged." James, however, had determined otherwise.

Scarcely had the Minister's death become known when a most indecent struggle commenced to get possession of his papers. The Bishop, in conse-

quence of his banishment, owed no allegiance to King George; nevertheless, he had desired protection of his representative for the sake of his heirs, for the property he might leave behind him, by a direct application to the ambassador, Lord Waldegrave. The French Government had also been applied to for a similar protection, with much more probability of its being honestly afforded. The English ambassador lost no time in announcing the event to the Government at home, and received from the Under-Secretary of State the following extremely suggestive reply:—

MR. DELAFAYE TO EARL WALDEGRAVE.

Whitehall, Mar. 8, 1731-2.

Your Excellency's *private letters* to my Lord Duke of Newcastle and to me, bring Mr. Pellew back to you sooner than perhaps you expected. I believe you will not be sorry to have his assistance in an affair of this nature, which it will be difficult to compass, but *well worth the while if it can be brought about.* [Apparently the seizure of the dead man's correspondence.] I remember that, as cautious as he was, and careful to put everything out of the way when he was seized here, I found among his loose papers a letter he had written to the Pretender; but having, I suppose, missed the opportunity of sending it, he had laid it by and forgot to destroy it.

There is no evidence of such a document having been discovered, and therefore the statement must be a fabrication; but the reader's attention is particularly directed to what follows, ostensibly written by an English gentleman to the representative of his sovereign at a foreign Court.

As he might not be under the same apprehensions now that he was then, and his death was sudden, probably there are some

curiosities to be met with in his *scrutore* (*sic.*), if one knew *how to come at them.* I return you one which shows his spirit and ill-nature held out to the last.* What a pity it is that so good parts should have been in such bad hands! [The Under-Secretary was not aware that the Bishop's good parts were in his head.] As to your Excellency having intermeddled in getting the *sçellé* put to his effects, and his claiming your protection as an Englishman, the Attorney-General agreed with me in opinion, that he had no right to the privilege of a subject [but his heir had]. However, if your Excellency's own seal would have done, and that you could by that means *have had the fingering of his papers*, one would have done him that favour. The circumstance of his willingness that his Excellency should have had this precious deposit, rather than they should have fallen into some other hands, might be made use of as an argument to my friend Morice, *if he were talked with;* but at the same time it is one with me that he had been thinking of securing his papers, and had destroyed the most considerable of them.†

If the author of "The Beggars' Opera" made Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend the originals of his characters Lockit and Peachum, he must certainly have found his Filch in Mr. Delafaye.

While such dishonourable suggestions were sent from the English Government, that of the Pretender was no less eager in the same course. O'Brien came forward as his agent, assisted by Father Inese, who contrived to have the documents placed in the Scots College, and then wrote to Rome a detail of his proceedings, in which he did as much justice as he could to himself, and as much injustice as was possible to the dead; of whom he wrote, "I hope at least your Majesty's affairs will be *far from suffering* by his

* Perhaps this was the satire on Sir Robert Walpole, erroneously attributed to him.

† Nichols. Miscellaneous Works, &c., V., 186.

death; for, had he lived to see a restoration, I am afraid he had proved very uneasy to your Majesty on many accounts." *

Lord Sempill found himself forced to abandon his "sacred trust" by O'Brien and Inese, and when Mr. Morice arrived to take possession of his property he ascertained that it had been placed out of his reach by the authority, it was alleged, of James. He remonstrated; in truth, he used unquestionably strong language respecting the illegality of such proceedings. He sought the assistance of the French Government; indeed, made such a stir that the two Jacobites began to waver. At this juncture James wrote a letter to Father Inese, to soothe the irritated heir-at-law, but still intent on withholding the Bishop's papers, adding, that "when it shall please God to alter my situation, I shall have no difficulty in letting him have such of them as may contribute to the honour of the Bishop's memory." *

Mr. Morice was not contented with this very shadowy satisfaction. He endeavoured to get an order to remove the documents into his own custody, and insisted that he had been commissioned by the Duchess of Buckingham and other distinguished persons to destroy such of their letters as might be in the Bishop's possession. With the Marquis de Pezé, with whose name Horace Walpole's spy had made so free, the Bishop had maintained very friendly relations.

Father Inese wrote again to James, suggesting a

* Stuart Papers.

compromise, and informing him that the French Government claimed the Marquis's letters and all the Bishop's reports of their conferences. Mr. Morice would have nothing to do with O'Brien, and very little with Father Inese; but while he got the Duke of Berwick to intercede for him with the French Government, he spiritedly addressed the officials individually, forwarding a detailed report of the affair to Cardinal de Fleury. They became inclined to do something like justice; but it was a small instalment only, and Mr. Morice, assisted by the Duke of Berwick, went to Versailles and bothered the French officials into a further relaxation.

A division of the papers was made by Mr. Dicconson, from which those zealous partisans, Inese and O'Brien, were excluded; what particularly related to James, and the letters of the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl Marischal, were sealed up and left at the Scots College. The rest were delivered to Mr. Morice to be burnt.

There was still a large bundle kept back, consisting of papers relating to the Bishop's trial, which James for special reasons desired to possess, and Mr. Morice, knowing how important they were for clearing his father-in-law's reputation, still demanded. He did not care to write to the Pretender for them, but addressed a spirited letter to the Lord Marischal for his perusal, desiring that papers which had by will been left to his charge, should be surrendered to him. Mr. Dicconson acknowledged that they unquestionably belonged to Mr. Morice. James became of the same opinion, and wrote to that effect, but insisted

that no public use should be made of them, and they were still withheld.*

Mr. Morice could not wait any longer, as he had to convey the Bishop's remains to England for interment. The disgust he felt at the injudicious conduct of the Pretender was shared by many of the friends of the deceased. Indeed, the Rev. Ezekiel Hamilton, who had been in James's household, and had acted while in Spain as secretary to the Duke of Ormonde, did not conceal his feelings. He wrote an indignant letter to Rome, intended for James's perusal, in which he asserted that

> Every faithful subject of the King's at home or abroad, especially every member of the Church of England, as well as the clergy, must look upon such treatment of a great prelate who had sacrificed his fortune for the King, and had ventured his life in his cause; they must, I say, regard such usage of the Bishop as an injury and indignity even to themselves; and, as far as I can yet see, it may have very ill effects on the King's interest.

Farther on, "to defend the memory of a great Bishop," he continues:—

> I will add further, that, as a true subject of the King, I cannot

* Some years elapsed before James's objection to the delivery of these documents, illustrating the trial of his most distinguished adherent, and put together by him, was ascertained. It came out that it was from regard to Pulteney, then secretly supporting his interest in England, whose character, James was aware, would suffer irretrievably by their publication. In this very year, 1731, the quarrel between him and Walpole was waging fiercely in newspapers and pamphlets, and one of its results was a duel between the leader of opposition and Lord Hervey, Walpole's friend and colleague. Pulteney was a tower of strength to the Pretender, which would have been toppled down to the dust, had his unprincipled proceedings against Atterbury been made public. Ultimately he succeeded in driving Walpole from power, and secured his own elevation to the peerage. The one became Earl of Orford, the other of Bath, and thenceforward were politically extinct. Walpole survived till 1745, and Pulteney till June, 1764.

but be highly affected with anything that may hurt His Majesty's cause, and, be agreeable to his enemy's; and, as a Presbyter of the Church of England, I may be allowed to offer my humble opinion in the case of a Bishop of that Church, who, to my knowledge, was indefatigable in the King's cause, at a time when those who are enemies to his memory at present neither had the capacity nor power, nor perhaps the inclination, to promote it.*

Mr. Morice turned his back upon the Jacobites, with a pretty strong opinion respecting their nominal King. The treatment, however, he met with from the servants of King George was perhaps even less creditable than those he had encountered from the enemies of "King James:" the remains of the defunct exile were, immediately they had been conveyed to his native shores, seized, the coffin broken open and searched, and the property the heir-at-law had with so much difficulty got out of the clutches of one set of sharks, was grasped as eagerly by another set. The Under-Secretary had not forgotten his desire to appropriate "curiosities," when the "fingering" of them became practicable. Not only were the much-coveted papers carried away from their owner, but on May 1, Mr. Morice, who had been taken into custody, had to undergo a close examination respecting his knowledge of the deceased Bishop's correspondence.

The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harington could not have profited much by what they learnt from him; and the Whig Government, finding that little was to be gained by persecuting a dead opponent, permitted Mr. Morice to complete his

* Stuart Papers.

arrangements for his interment, which took place on the 12th of May. The persecution followed him to the grave. Not only was the utmost privacy insisted on—no one was permitted to show the least mark of respect but his son-in-law and his chaplains, Dr. Savage and Mr. Thomas Moore. The body was consigned to the vault in Westminster Abbey, prepared by him in the year 1722, and placed by the side of his beloved daughter; the visceræ deposited in an urn, with this inscription:—

In hac urnâ depositi sunt cinerés,
Francisci Atterbury Episcopi Roffensis.

There was a continuation prepared, but not a word of it was likely to have been allowed by the subservient chapter. It was phrased thus:—

Natus Martii VI., MDCLXII.
In carcerem conjectus, Aug. XXIV., MDCCXXII.
Nono post mense in Judicium adductus,
Novoque Criminum et Testium genere impetitus,
Actâ dein per Septidium Causâ
Et eversis,
Tum viventium, tum mortuorum Testimoniis
Ne deesset Lex, quâ plecti posset,
Lata est tandem Maii XXVII., MDCCXXIII.
Cavete Posteri!
Hoc Tacinoris
Conscivit, aggressus est, perpetravit,
(Episcoporum præcipuè suffragiis adjutus.)
Robertus iste *Walpole*
Quem nulla nesciet Posteritas.

Nothing can be more touching than Pope's dialogue, in the form of an epitaph, that records the affection, faithful unto death, of the banished prelate and his daughter:—

MRS. MORICE.—Yes, we have lived—one pang, and then we part,
May Heaven, dear father! now have all thy heart;
Yet, ah! how once we loved remember still,
Till you are dust like me.

BISHOP ATTERBURY.— Dear shade, I will.
Then mix this dust with thine—O spotless ghost,
O more than fortune, friends, or country lost!
Is there on earth one care, one wish beside?
Yes—save my country—Heaven!
He said—and died! *

This post-mortem vindictiveness of Walpole created an intense feeling of indignation in England. Of this the Filch of the administration condescended to take notice in a communication (May 11) to Lord Waldegrave :—

The seizing of Mr. Morice and searching of vessels from France for the late Bishop of Rochester's corpse, *has made some noise here*, which may perhaps have reached your parts.

He then attempts to justify this realization of his previous hint respecting the appropriation of the curiosities, "if one knew how to come at them." He does not confess that, to the cruel disappointment of the *fingerers* of the dead man's writings, no "useful informations" were gathered from them. Nevertheless, several were abstracted, even the Bishop's literary compositions, and were afterwards found among the Orford and Walpole Papers.†

The will of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester,

* Pope, towards the close of his career, appears to have considered that his strength lay in satire, and after his fine Epistle to Lord Bathurst, on "The Use of Riches," 1732, and his admirable "Essay on Man," two years later, his clever imitations of Horace, he produced his epistle "On the Characters of Women," 1735, followed by those two dialogues, "Seventeen hundred and thirty-eight," that are, unquestionably, the most bitter of his personal attacks. In the year 1740, he re-published, without acknowledging its source, "Anthologia, seu selecta quædam Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt," 1684, one of Atterbury's earliest literary productions. It bore the new title of "Selecta Carmina Italorum." A later publication was a new edition of "The Dunciad," 1743. On the 30th of May, in the following year, he died. Swift survived him only a few months—October, 1745.

† Nichols. Misc. Works, &c., V., 191.

dated the 31st of December, 1725, properly signed, and witnessed by Sir Redmond Everard, Mr. and Mrs. Panton, William Walker, and Joan Jameson, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in May, 1732; it conferred the whole of the personal property on Mary and William Morice, their heirs and executors. The real estate, including that of Dr. Lewis Atterbury, passed to the Bishop's only son, Osborn, who by this time seems to have sown his wild oats. He abandoned the sea, and endeavoured to qualify himself for the profession of which his father was so great an ornament, and succeeded so well that Bishop Hoadly gave him ordination. He subsequently obtained preferment in Ireland.

There was a note folded up with the deceased prelate's will, entitled "Memorandum, June 30th, 1729," in which he gives his wearing apparel and linen to his servant William Walter, with directions to deliver all his books and papers to Mr. and Mrs. Morice, who are to present to two other servants (Osbaldeston and his wife) such portion of the kitchen utensils and furniture in his house in Paris as they shall not require for their own use. Mr. Salkeld, his amanuensis, is to receive 400 livres, in addition to his quarter's salary, with a recommendation to the Duke of Ormonde; the Duchess of Buckingham his diamond ring; Mr. Pope any book out of his library he may choose to select. To the University of Oxford is bequeathed the portrait of Père Courayer. Mr. Morice is directed to destroy "all such papers as ought not to be seen;" but there is not a word in the document referring to either of the Sempills.

The intelligence of the Bishop's death greatly distressed his faithful friends in England. Few mourned him more sincerely than did Samuel Wesley. His muse, that had endeavoured to produce a worthy memorial of the daughter, now essayed to do justice on the father, as well as on his enemies. Wesley wrote an elegy, prefixing to it the well-known verse from Job: "There *the wicked* cease from troubling, and *the weary* are at rest." It is too long for quotation—one or two passages may suffice:—

Hail, happy Sire! the pain of life is o'er,
Stranger and wandering pilgrim now no more,
At home, at rest, secure in blissful skies,
Where Envy drops its snakes, and Fraud its guise
See seraph guards the starry crown prepare!
See smiling angels fly to greet thee there!
* * * * * *
When pyramids, unfaithful to their trust,
Crumble to atoms with their founder's dust;
When solid marble, mould'ring, wastes away,
And desert lies the monumental clay;
Thou still shalt live, to deathless Fame consign'd,
Live like the best and bravest of mankind!

The poet, having traced the career of the distinguished priest and statesman, thus denounces his vindictive opponents:—

He who to gold perpetual worship gave,
Secret as night, unsated as the grave,
To friendship bland, sharp-sighted to a bribe,
The subtlest artist of the subtlest tribe;
Whose deep affronted avarice combines,
With craft outwitted by its own designs,
Full on that head their utmost rage to show'r,
Who spurn'd at tender'd gold, and offer'd power.
He who by fortune raised is vain of skill,
Who laughs at right and wrong, at good and ill;
Patron of ev'ry art in ev'ry kind,
T' unnerve the body and debase the mind;
Provoked by virtues of the wise and brave,
Of blackest crimes protector, friend, and slave;

He who with self-importance swells debate,
Whose rancour no revenge can ever sate;
Rav'nous for gain, yet loud for common weal,
With party madness and inverted zeal;
With more than lordly haughtiness possess'd,
And proudly prates of honour long deceased!
Eternal, restless enemy to good,
By pride, by sect, by climate, and by blood!

An Ode on the death of Bishop Atterbury was published by Curll. This is the third of its five stanzas:—

No laurels, no rewards, attend this verse,
It is too honest for the world's applause;
Be it my wealth to weep upon thy hearse,
My glory ever to defend thy cause.
I boast some merit—'tis to love thy name;
This is a privilege no laws deny;
'Tis laurels, glory, wealth, applause, and fame,
And I would do it were I sure to die;
For in thee, living, we alone might find
More friendship, honour, sense, and truth,
Than now is left behind.

Lord Sempill had stated in his letter to James, written shortly after his minister's decease, that the Bishop before his death had engaged him and made him promise that he would take charge of his papers till the arrival of his son-in-law. There is, however, no other evidence of this; and the testimony that can be referred to suggests that his lordship was by this pretence striving to get possession of them to hand them over to the English Ambassador. Lord Sempill contrived, according to Mr. Salkeld's account, to have them placed in a box, and conveyed to a place of security. Then came a peremptory order from the Pretender, through O'Brien, to surrender them, which he did not dare to oppose, but evaded by having the boxes deposited in the Scots College.

Father Inese's report to James proves Lord Sempill to have been very eager to get possession of the documents. James, in his next letter, so strongly disapproved of Lord Sempill's officiousness, that his lordship thought it necessary to address him with a laboured defence of his conduct, in which he complains of O'Brien having "made applications and took measures, tending to raise, if possible, a suspicion that such papers as might regard your Majesty, or your good subjects, *were not safe in my custody.*"

There is, therefore, reason for believing that Lord Sempill's "honour and integrity" were called in question. Presently he asserts that Mr. Morice was cognizant of the wish of the deceased minister, that he should have the charge of these papers; but this also is uncorroborated. On the contrary, Mr. Morice expressed himself very strongly on what had been done in his absence, as Mr. Salkeld wrote:—

> Mr. Morice, in his conversation and discourse upon these points, did sometimes lose his temper and let fall some indiscreet and unguarded expressions.

James was not satisfied either with Lord Sempill's defence or his explanation. This put his lordship in the background, till the autumn of 1735, when he contrived to obtain an interview with the Duchess of Buckingham, then in Paris. With her characteristic kindness, her Grace was endeavouring to get the withheld documents restored to the Bishop's family. Lord Sempill wrote to James, on the 17th of October, that her Grace had promised to take charge of them. To this arrangement James consented, on the understanding that they were not to be made public.

The English Government apparently entertained a high appreciation of the Sempills, for his lordship not only was permitted to return to England, but rose in the military service of George II.; and when the battle of Culloden decided the pretensions of the sovereign he had previously professed to serve, he commanded a wing of the Duke of Cumberland's army as a brigadier-general. He died a few months afterwards, when the spy who had—no doubt with his father's connivance—betrayed Bishop Atterbury for whatever sums he could contrive to get out of Horace Walpole, succeeded to the title as John twelfth Lord Sempill.

To understand the alleged culpability of Bishop Atterbury, it is necessary to examine what he abandoned when he accepted the service of the son of James II. Up to a certain period there is nothing conclusive to prove that he made any other use of Jacobitism than later politicians have made of more reprehensible movements. It is consistent with opposition tactics to seem to support any proceedings that are likely to affect the stability of the Government they desire to displace. The Bishop, as leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, thought himself bound to encourage the assailants of the Whigs. He may have been convinced of the justice of the cause of the excluded Prince; but in favouring James's supporters his first object seems to have been to gain strength for his party.

The criminality of the Bishop's proceeding was considered to be in his intention of changing the

established religion: but there never existed a more fervent Protestant. As for the faith of the two claimants of the British throne, the only difficulty is in pronouncing with strict justice which had the least. James must have been ready to promise anything; and if his aspirations could have been promptly realized by throwing over his Roman Catholic subjects, he would not have hesitated about it. This probably was the impression of the champion of High Church principles.

How stood, before the Bishop's observation, the *de facto* head of that Church? He brought with him three German women and three German men; the former by way of harem, the latter by way of cabinet. Mademoiselle Schulenberg had lived in adultery with the Elector of Hanover, while his amiable consort, after experiencing very brutal treatment, was kept immured in a prison. This person was thrust into the peerage with the title of Duchess of Kendal, was allowed apartments in St. James's Palace, and enjoyed the reputation of having been united to the King by a Morganatic or left-handed marriage—adding bigamy to the other royal offences.

Madame Kielmansegge was as signal a burlesque of Madame de Maintenon as her protector was of Louis le Grand. She had an insatiate appetite for pleasure and for money; but was far from being so unintelligent and vulgar-minded as the Duchess, being remarkably vivacious, social, and fond of literature, theatres, and music. "The Light of the Harem" was, however, the Countess Platen, who was transplanted to the English peerage as Countess

of Darlington. Like the others, she was ready to intrigue with any one who could increase her income, and among others with Mr. Secretary Craggs. The King had a daughter by her (Lady Howe), and as the Duchess stood in the relation of aunt to the Countess, another crime must have thus been added to the royal kalendar.

At the King's evening parties, these Teutonic graces invariably presided, the majority of the company being usually Germans, the rest English courtiers of both sexes. He also passed some hours of his time with them, when no one else was admitted, and employed himself in cutting paper figures. They were in receipt of large sums, every one bribing them who wanted royal patronage or court influence.

The foreign cabinet consisted of Baron Bothmar, agent in England for the Elector in the reign of Queen Anne; Bernstorf, so thorough a Hanoverian that he could not be brought to consider three kingdoms as an acceptable addition to one electorate; and Roberton, a more able counsellor, who had enjoyed the advantage of having been private Secretary to William III. The male triumvirate exceeded the female in greediness. At last their corruption became so notorious that Walpole, whose experience in bribery was unrivalled, ventured on a mild remonstrance to the King. "Don't *you* take bribes?" was the incredulous response. On this the minister made such good use of the secret service money in the alien seraglio, that he was presently enabled to get rid of the alien cabinet. The broad laps of the mistresses were banks of deposit for contending

statesmen—deposits, however, for which no account was ever rendered. One of the young Lords of the Treasury, Paul Methuen, did not disdain playing the lover to the ugly old Duchess; and Lord Halifax, having introduced him with a tempting donation, secured the staff of Lord Treasurer. Lord Bolingbroke was equally prodigal to obtain a private audience of the King, but, to his extreme disgust, gained nothing by the opportunity.

A court so constituted may excuse a Christian prelate for turning his back upon it. To talk of the security of the Protestant religion under such auspices was very Low Church indeed. The influence it exerted over the Bishop of Rochester's political as well as his religious feelings, may be imagined.

It is not necessary to go very deeply into the character of the court of George II. to find further apology for the Bishop's desire for restoring the right line to the English throne. Two works, both from unquestionable sources, have furnished the historical student with a picture of Church and State at this era, that has left room for no additions. The first is from the pen of the Queen's Lord Chamberlain,* and it has produced the portraits of her family in a style that, for fidelity at least, beats every attempt on canvas from Holbein to Reynolds; it is impossible to imagine a group at once so thoroughly unamiable and unroyal; the other comes from a female member of Her Majesty's

* Lord Hervey. Memoirs of the Court of George II. Edited by the Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker.

Household,* and is equally unflattering and equally true.

These books are much more trustworthy than the Strawberry Hill gossip—for the first is an account preserved from day to day, while the persons described were under constant observation—the other is the correspondence with which divines, statesmen, and authors endeavoured to gain a principal avenue to court favour. We are enabled by them to see Queen Caroline with so little reverence for the Protestant Church, as to cause her Chaplain to read prayers in a room adjoining the one in which she was being dressed, till the worthy man felt himself compelled to remonstrate against the indecorum of having "to whistle the Word of God through a key-hole." Her Majesty was of course Low Church.

It is not, however, easy to define her religion or her philosophy, though she affected both. Whiston and Leibnitz had audiences in turn; her taste in poetry was established by elevating Stephen Duck, a thresher, who wrote indifferent verses, to the dignity of an Anglican priest; her taste in architecture, much after the same process, was displayed in erecting a grotto in one of the Royal Parks, with apparently more elaboration than she would have bestowed upon a cathedral. It cannot be denied that Queen Caroline was intensely heterodox—most particularly so in her domestic rule of faith, as her eldest son found to his cost.

Nothing so clearly excuses the Bishop's "dis-

* Memoirs of Viscountess [Baroness] Sundon, &c.

loyalty" as the general want of respect towards the Hanoverian family, that lasted for three generations—shown in the well-known "Epitaph" on Frederick, Prince of Wales—the hated son of this heterodox mother; the appreciation it indicates of every member of "the Happy Family" in turn, conveys something very like a justification of the Bishop's preference for their exiled kinsman:—

Here lies Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead!
Had it been his father,*
I had much rather.
Had it been his brother,†
Much better than another.
Had it been his sister,‡
No one would have miss'd her.
Had it been the whole generation,
So much the better for the nation!
But as it is only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead—
There's no more to be said!

Notwithstanding the sufficiency of such excuses for Atterbury's desire to effect a restoration, after the provocation he received by his illegal and fraudulent condemnation to exile, there can be no doubt that the remedy he sought would have proved worse than the disease. Long before his troubled career closed, he must have felt convinced that James was unworthy of his solicitude; and had Walpole possessed a particle of generosity, he would have allowed the death of the Bishop's beloved daughter to terminate his punishment. When the exile found that the minister was obdurate, he desperately turned again to his

* George II. † Duke of Cumberland. ‡ Princess Amelia.

Sisyphus task till he broke down. Could he have foreseen how thoroughly at last the Hanoverian transplantation became climatized and nationalized, he might have reconciled himself to the injustice of his sentence.

The amount of misrepresentation which attended his attachment to his principles can scarcely be conceived; even those who were the most bound to honour his memory, have been among the most active in suppressing or distorting the truth to his prejudice. This crying injustice is thus referred to by a modern politician and man of letters:*—

> It is hard to think that such a man as Harcourt, illustrious from birth as well as the great seal, should fall into contempt, and be reviled even by his friends—but more so that Atterbury, whom we so admire as a scholar, and look upon as a martyr to his sincerity in his principles, should also be vilified by the same friends as wanting in the only qualities which can make a falling party respectable—fidelity.

In this virtue, however, he was exemplary to an extent rarely paralleled in political history. But he was faithful to an unpopular cause, and his fair fame has been darkened by the shadow which its complete failure in 1745 cast around it.

As the case stands, there are not wanting claims on the forbearance of his countrymen. Looking down from the vantage-ground they have attained in the course of nearly a century and a half—under the really Protestant rule of a thoroughly English sovereign, with Hanover entirely got rid of, and domestic virtue and refined intelligence taking the

* The author of "De Vere."

place of such royalty as outraged the feelings of this intensely Anglican Bishop—they can afford to regard leniently his enforced Jacobitism. If he erred in judgment, his punishment was excessive. It is surely time that a kindlier spirit should review his career.

END OF VOL. II.

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